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**Journals of
ARCHIBALD MENZIES
1792-1794**

HAWAII NEI **Years Ago**

Journals of
ARCHIBALD MENZIES
1792-1794



HONOLULU

1920



R. K. Bonine

Copyright

Gunnera petaloidea.

Nat. name Apeape. Leaves 2-4 feet in width.



Eddis del,
1841 or 1842.

Courtesy of Sir David Prain, Royal Botanic
Gardens, Kew, London, England.

ARCHIBALD MENZIES.
1754-1842.

Introduction.

A ARCHIBALD MENZIES, whose account of his three visits to the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands, when acting as surgeon and naturalist on board H. M. S. Discovery, Captain Geo. Vancouver, in the years 1792-94, is here presented to the reader, was born at Weem in the Highlands of Perthshire, Scotland, on 15th March, 1754.

The village of Weem, which also happens to be the name of the surrounding parish, is beautifully situated on the north bank of the river Tay, about one mile N.W. from Aberfeldy, where the celebrated Black Watch, the oldest Highland regiment, was first embodied. Weem is the home of the principal branch of the Gaelic-speaking clan Menzies—in Gaelic Menairach—whose members wear a red and white colored tartan. In Lowland Scottish, the name Menzies is pronounced Mengies.

Few, if any, particulars have been preserved in regard to Menzies' parentage or boyhood. Most of the facts regarding him, which are given here, have been obtained from the article on Menzies in the Dictionary of National Biography. As is the practice with all country-bred boys in Scotland, he doubtless attended the local parish school, one of which was to be found in every parish throughout Scotland since the days of John Knox. During the long summer holidays he would be found with his youthful playmates, wandering over the purple heather-clad hills which surround his native home, "Tir nam beinn, nann gleann, 'snan gaisgeach"—"the land of bens, of glens, and of heroes." It must have been from such early wanderings that Menzies acquired that love for flowers and plants which inclined him to take up the profession of gardening, and later on, when studying medicine, to devote himself more particularly to botanical pursuits.

After leaving school, Menzies went to Edinburgh and obtained employment in the Royal Botanic Gardens, where his elder brother William was already working as a gardener. While there, Dr. John Hope, then professor of botany at Edinburgh University, became interested in the young man, and helped him to attend the medical course at the university. In addition to attending lectures at the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens and university class, he further perfected his studies in

that direction by going on a botanical collecting tour, during the summer vacation in 1778, through the Highlands and Western Islands.

Eventually, having qualified as a surgeon, he served as assistant to a doctor at Carnarvon, and afterwards entered the navy as assistant surgeon on board the *Nonsuch*. He was present at Rodney's victory over de Grasse on 12th April, 1782. On peace being declared, he was transferred to the Halifax station.

In 1786, Menzies engaged himself as surgeon on board the *Prince of Wales*, commanded by Lieut. Colnett, bound on a fur-trading expedition to the North-West Coast of America. The *Prince of Wales* was accompanied by another vessel, the *Princess Royal*, in charge of Capt. Duncan. This expedition called twice at the Sandwich Islands, viz., on its way going north and again on its return from the N. W Coast en route for China and England. So far as known, neither the captains of this expedition nor Menzies have left any record of the voyage, although the latter in his journal, kept when on the *Discovery*, gives several references to his having previously visited the Sandwich Islands in 1786 and 1787, and to his having made the acquaintance of Kaeo, then king of the island of Kauai.

It was on the occasion of Captain Duncan's second visit to the Sandwich Islands in 1787, while on his way back to England, that he took along with him two Hawaiian boys, named by Menzies, Too-worero and Toomeemeemotane, but which the present editor has modernized into Kualelo and Kumeemeekane. These two youths were the first Hawaiians to reach England. The chief Kaiana sailed from Hawaii with Capt Meares about the same time, but never got further away from the islands than China, whence he afterwards returned home. At the request of the Admiralty, Kualelo was brought back to the islands by Vancouver on board the *Discovery*, but what became of Kumeemeekane, the other lad, is not mentioned by Menzies or by any other writer.

Menzies returned to England in 1789, and in the following year was chosen, probably on the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, who was generally consulted by the British government in making such appointments, to be naturalist on the *Discovery* under Captain George Vancouver. He was allowed a servant or assistant, John Ewin or Ewing.

At this point it may be as well to explain what gave occasion for Vancouver's Voyage to the North-West Coast of America.

Soon after the publication in London of the account of Captain Cook's third and last voyage to the Pacific and North-West Coast of America, there began to arise in mercantile and trading circles, both in Old and New England, a great deal of discussion as to the feasibility

of buying furs from the natives living on the North-West Coast of America for glass beads, bits of iron, etc., and disposing of same in the China market at a huge profit. With this object in view, several vessels were fitted out by private capital and started out from England, India, China, and later on from Boston, New England. The newly discovered Sandwich Islands, being very centrally situated in the vast expanse of waters in the North Pacific Ocean, were found very convenient as a calling place by such trading expeditions for the sake of making repairs to the ships or for the purpose of obtaining needed refreshments.

One of the earliest of these fur-trading adventurers was John Meares, who had been originally a commander in the Royal Navy, but afterwards a master in the merchant service. In 1786, he sailed from Calcutta in the small ship Nootka for the N.W. Coast. In 1788, he made a second voyage to Nootka Sound in the ship Felicia, being subsequently joined by the Iphigenia, William Douglas, master. In 1789, Meares and his partner at Canton despatched two ships, the Argonaut and Princess Royal to join the Iphigenia and its small tender the North-West America, at Nootka Sound.

Up to this time, the Spaniards, although long settled on the West Coast of North America, had not made any settlement further north than Monterey and the district round about the Bay of San Francisco in California. However, when the news of these various foreign fur-trading expeditions reached the Court of Madrid, the Spanish authorities at length woke up and resolved to exercise their assumed exclusive jurisdiction over the whole of the west coast of America right up to the Arctic regions. For this purpose, therefore, they sent the frigate Princesa and corvette San Carlos to Nootka Sound, which had become the headquarters for the British and American fur traders. They seized the Iphigenia and North-West America, making Captain Douglas and his men prisoners, and on their arrival later on, the Argonaut and Princess Royal were also seized. The grounds for this action was the allegation that the coast and adjoining seas were Spanish, and that any foreign ship trading there was violating the commercial code of Spain and was guilty of smuggling, if not of piracy.

As soon as the news of this seizure reached Meares at Canton, he returned to England, and in a memorial laid the case before the British Parliament. Reparation was peremptorily demanded from the Spanish authorities, and as it was not at once given, a very large fleet was assembled under the command of Lord Howe. Before this material threat the Spanish government acceded to all demands.

For the purpose of handing over to Britain in due form the land and other property at Nootka Sound belonging to Meares which had been seized by the Spaniards, it was judged expedient that a vessel of the British navy be sent out for that purpose. A vessel named the *Discovery*, which had been built with the object of making a voyage of exploration in the South Seas was selected, and Captain George Vancouver was placed in command. Vancouver, it may be mentioned, had already cruised in the Pacific, having been a midddy with Cook on his last voyage. When in charge of one of the ship's boats at Kealakekua Bay which had been sent in pursuit of the chief, Palea's canoe, Vancouver was one of Cook's men who received a severe mauling from the natives at Napoopoo Beach.

Vancouver sailed from Falmouth, England, on 1st April, 1791, having in company the Chatham armed tender, commanded by Lieut. William Robert Broughton. These two ships were subsequently joined by the storeship *Daedalus*, which had come up north to the Sandwich Islands from New South Wales with supplies. It was while the *Daedalus* was anchored off Waimea, island of Oahu, that Lieut. Hergest, commander, Mr. Gooch, astronomer, and one of the sailors lost their lives in a quarrel with the natives.

In addition to the main object for which the expedition was fitted out, the British Admiralty instructed Vancouver to make a thorough survey of the islands and sounds of the N.W. Coast of America, and also at the same time to make collections of natural history specimens. In charge of the last mentioned branch, Archibald Menzies, as already mentioned, was appointed to act as naturalist. Later on, in the course of the voyage, owing to the sickness of A. P. Cranstoun, surgeon of the *Discovery*, Menzies, in addition to his other duties, acted as ship's doctor to the satisfaction of all concerned. Vancouver speaks highly of his services in his preface to his account of the voyage, not one man dying from ill health between the date of the departure of the expedition from the Cape on its way out and that of its return to England in October, 1795. When at the Cape, Menzies obtained a number of orange seeds which he planted and reared on board ship on the outward voyage. He distributed a great many of these seedlings among the chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, and it is from the plants distributed by Menzies that most of the species of the so-called Hawaiian orange trees have been propagated. He also gave to the chiefs and to John Young, Isaac Davis and other white sailors then resident on the islands, a variety of vegetable seeds that he had brought from England for the express purpose of helping the inhabitants of those countries which the expedition might happen to visit.

On his return from this long voyage, Menzies once more went on active service in the navy, being attached to the *Sanspareil* in the West Indies. At the conclusion of this period of service, he retired from the navy, and established himself as a practising physician in London. He still kept up his interest in botanical subjects, and having been elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society in 1790, he became on the death of A. B. Lambert, the father of the society. A portrait of Menzies by Eddis hangs in the society's rooms, and a crayon portrait of him by the same artist is in the possession of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Menzies died at Ladbroke Terrace, Notting Hill, London, on 15th February, 1842, at the advanced age of 88, and was buried at Kensal Green cemetery, his grave being numbered 706. His wife, by whom he had no family, predeceased him by five years.

His herbarium of grasses, sedges and cryptogams was bequeathed to the Edinburgh Botanical Gardens, where, when a young man, he had first acquired a scientific knowledge of the floral kingdom. His fellow botanists had a high regard for his professional abilities and amiable character, as is evidenced by the many trees and plants to which his name is attached. In the Hawaiian Islands flora, his name has been given to no less than nineteen species or varieties of trees or shrubs. These may be cited, viz.:—

- Abutilon Menziesii*—Seem. (nat. name, Mao).
- Astelia Menziesiana*—Sm. (Puaakuhinia).
- Bonania Menziesii*—Gray.
- Breweria Menziesii*—Benth and Hook.
- Campylotheca Menziesii*—Hbd. (Poolanui or Kookoolau).
- Cibotium Menziesii*—Hook. (Hapu Ili or Hei).
- Coprosma Menziesii*—Gray and Waw. (Pilo).
- Coreopsis Menziesii*—Gray.
- Cyrtandra Menziesii*—Hook and Arn. (Haiwale).
- Geranium cuneatum* var. *Menziesii*—Gray (Hinahina).
- Kadua Menziesiana*—Ch and Schl. (Kiolo).
- Lycopodium Menziesii*—Hook and Grev. (Wawae iole).
- Selaginella Menziesii*—Spring (Wawae iole).
- Pandanus Menziesii*—Gaud. (Hala).
- Pleiosmilax Menziesii*—Seem. (Uhi, Ulehii or Ploi).
- Raillardia Menziesii*—Gray (Kupaua).
- Scaevola Menziesiana* (2 var.) Cham. (Naupaka or Ohenaupaka).
- Schiedea Menziesii*—Hook (Kawelu or Maolili).
- Vicia Menziesii*—Spring.

A few remarks may here be made in regard to the journal or diary of Menzies which appears in the following pages. As was

customary on exploring voyages of the nature headed by Vancouver, many of the officers and crew kept private journals or logs, and thus on the return of the ships to England, Captain Vancouver, following the practice pursued by Captain Cook, on similar occasions, demanded the surrender to him of all journals kept by the members of his expedition. Amongst others, Menzies had kept a journal throughout the voyage, but according to a letter written by him to Sir Joseph Banks, dated 14th September, 1795, on file at the library of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, he declined to deliver up his journal to Vancouver, for he wrote: "Though Captain Vancouver made a formal demand of my journals, etc., before he left the ship, I did not think myself authorized to deliver them . . . till I should hear from you or the Secretary of the Home Department, when I shall be ready to deliver up everything I have written, drawn or collected during the whole voyage." This journal of Menzies has now found its way to the British Museum, where it is catalogued as Addl. M.S. 32641.

Menzies published an account of his ascent of Mauna Hualalai on the island of Hawaii in Loudon's Magazine of Natural History for 1829, vol. i., pp. 201-208, and vol. ii., pp. 435-442, under the title, "Some account of an ascent and barometrical measurement of Wha-ra-rai, a mountain in Owhyhee." In Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for 1908, pp. 99-121 and 1910, pp. 72-89 there is printed the story of Menzies' trip to the top of Hualalai, taken from the account given in his journal, and in Professor Chas. H. Hitchcock's "Hawaii and Its Volcanoes," pp. 63-79, the story, also taken from Menzies' journal, of his ascent of Mauna Loa is to be found. In addition, however, to the description of his climbs up Hualalai and Mauna Loa, Menzies in his journal has noted down a great many interesting observations in regard to the leading Hawaiian kings and chiefs, and about the primitive manners and customs of the natives, which the present editor is of opinion are well worthy of preservation in printed form. It is with this aim in view that the portion of Archibald Menzies' Journal covering his three visits to the Sandwich Islands is now printed in extenso for the first time. It is hoped that it will prove interesting to all lovers of Hawaii and its early history, and be found a valuable supplement to Vancouver's account of his voyage and to the Rev. Wm. Ellis' "Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii." Menzies, it must be remembered, described Hawaiian Life and Manners as they existed thirty years ahead of the arrival of the first contingent of American missionaries on the scene, and thirty-three years before Ellis and his companions made the circuit of the island of Hawaii.

With the solitary exception of the short inland journey, starting

from Kealakekua Bay, made by a few members of the crew of Captain Cook's vessels, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to reach the top of Mauna Loa, it may be stated that Menzies was the first educated white man to explore the interior of Hawaii and west Maui. He was the first white man to scale Hualalai, and the first white man and possibly the first human being to reach the summit of snow-clad Mauna Loa. It is exceedingly unlikely, previous to the advent of the "haole" or white man, that the native Hawaiians had ever reached the extreme summits of either Mauna Loa or Mauna Kea. It is extremely improbable that the old time Hawaiians ever went further up the side of Mauna Loa than the upper edge of the zone of vegetation situated about 6,000-7,000 feet, where they went for the sake of snaring certain species of birds whose red and yellow feathers were used for covering their helmets and mantles. On Mauna Kea, the Hawaiians probably did not reach a higher point than the quarry called Keanakakoi, where they were wont to go for the purpose of fashioning adzes and other stone implements out of the hard basalt that is to be found in that locality.

Menzies saw things in Hawaii exactly as they existed at date of Captain Cook's visit, but by the time that the first detachment of American missionaries arrived at Hawaii in 1820, Kamehameha, together with Kaeo, king of Maui, Kahekili, king of Maui, along with the flower of their warriors, had passed away. The strict observance of the kapus or taboos and the worship of their gods, described by Menzies, were also very much broken down and neglected. This was owing to the forty years intercourse of the natives since the date of Captain Cook's arrival, with many sailors who had deserted from or been left behind by various trading vessels that had touched at the islands. These beachcombers in many instances settled down on the islands as mechanics or workmen in the service of Kamehameha or other of the high chiefs, and the knowledge which they imparted to the Hawaiians about the outside world, prepared the way to a great extent for the further civilization imparted to them later on not only by missionaries but by resident merchants and trading sea captains.

The centennial of the arrival at Hawaii of the American missionaries from Boston is to be celebrated this year (1920), but in place of the hundreds of thousands of strong, healthy Hawaiians that greeted the first missionaries, there is now left but a remnant of the race, their place being taken by a horde of Asiatic coolies, Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, etc.

In preparing for the press the portion of Archibald Menzies' Journal relating to the Sandwich Islands, the editor has deemed it

advisable to spell the names of Hawaiian men, women, places and things mentioned by Menzies, according to the modern fashion. At date of Cook's visit and down to the thirties of last century, the T and R sounds were very prevalent in Hawaiian speech. The Hawaiian language sounded then very much like the Tahitian to which it is very closely related, much more so than to Marquesan or any of the other Polynesian dialects. When the Hawaiian language was finally reduced to writing and printing, the T and R sounds gradually disappeared and were replaced by that of K and L. On the island of Kauai, the T sound is still to be heard among the older generation of Hawaiians. Some examples of Menzies' spelling of Hawaiian words, together with their modern equivalents are given hereunder:

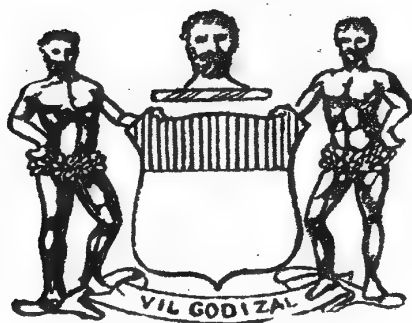
Menzies.	Modern Style
Aheedoo	Hilo
Hanuaaora	Honuaula
Tahoorowa	Kahoolawe
Atooi	Kauai
Toeyah, Toehah	Kawaihae
Kawoorawa	Kaawaloa
Woahoo	Oahu
Raheena	Lahaina
Morotoi	Molokai
Whyteetee	Waikiki
Mouna Roa	Mauna Loa
Tamooree	Kaumualii
Teamotoo	Keeaumoku
Tymstumotu	Kameeliamoku
Kaneeaboraia	Kanekapolei
Tianna	Kaiana
Terecboo	Kalaniopuu, Kaleiopuu or Kalaopuu
Tamaiha-maiha	Kamehameha
Taio	Kaeo
Talteree	Kahekili
Traitobore	Kalanikupule
Terimyty	Kellimaikai
Cavahero, Skeehevarero	Keawe-a-heulu
Nomiteeha, Nahomete-eete	Namakaeha

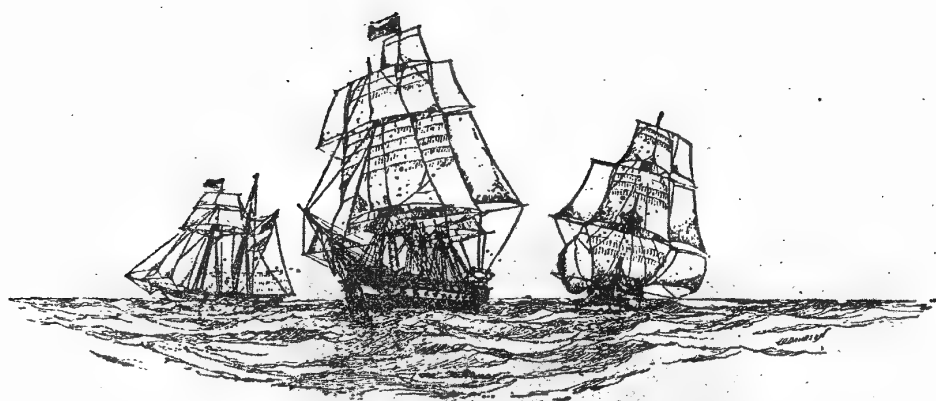
It may be mentioned that sub-headings which do not appear in the original manuscript have been added by the editor, and the foot-

notes are also by the same hand. Illustrations from original photographs and sketches or from old engravings have been inserted in order to make the narrative more interesting to the reader. In this connection the editor takes this opportunity of thanking Lieut.-Col. Sir David Prain, C.M.G., Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for permission to photograph the crayon sketch of Menzies by Eddis; Mr. C. S. Judd, Superintendent Board of Forestry and Agriculture, Honolulu, for the loan of several cuts illustrative of Hawaiian trees and plants; Mr. Bonine, photographer, for permission to reproduce his copyright photograph of *Gunnera petaloidea*, and to Miss Edna I. Allyn, librarian of the Hawaiian Historical Society, for courtesies extended.

W. F. WILSON.

Honolulu, January, 1920.





Journal of Archibald Menzies

KEPT DURING HIS THREE VISITS TO THE SANDWICH OR HAWAIIAN ISLANDS IN THE YEARS 1792-1794, WHEN ACTING AS SURGEON AND NATURALIST ON BOARD H.M.S. DISCOVERY (CAPT. GEORGE VANCOUVER), INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS ASCENT OF HUALALAI AND MAUNA LOA.

FIRST VISIT.

THE DISCOVERY ARRIVES AT HAWAII.

1792. March 1st. After several days of scanty and variable winds, we early on the 1st of March saw the Island of Hawaii, bearing North by East, 25 leagues off. We then had a moderate breeze of wind from north-west, which, as the day advanced, gradually veered round to the north-east quarter and blew very fresh, with which we carried a press of sail that enabled us to get in under the lee of the south point of the island by 10 at night, where we were sheltered from the prevailing trade wind and had but a light breeze all night.

March 2nd. Early next morning we passed the southwest point of the island within four miles of the shore, and as we had but light wind with intervals of calm under the

lee of the land, the natives had an opportunity to come off to us in their canoes pretty early and continued trading with us all day for hogs and vegetables. Of the former we got but few and these were very dear, at least in comparison with what we paid for them at Tahiti, for here they asked an axe for a middling sized hog, whereas at Tahiti we got three for that price. Nor were the vegetables in any great abundance. They consisted of taro, cocoanuts, sugar cane and a few yams, with some exceeding good water melons, which the natives told us they reared from seeds left here by Captain Cook, though I should rather suppose that they have received them from some later visitor, as I do not recollect having seen anything of the kind in my former visits in the winter of 1787 and 1788.¹ These, however, are a valuable addition to their former fruits, and as they are very fond of them themselves, I have no doubt but they will be careful enough to rear up a sufficient supply.

DISTRIBUTES ORANGE PLANTS.

As we now had in the glass frame on the quarter deck several hundreds of young orange plants, which were reared from seeds in our passage from the Cape of Good Hope, on showing these plants to the natives and describing to them that they would bear a fine, sweet fruit, they eagerly asked us for some of the plants, and about 50 were given to one of the chiefs with proper directions how to manage them, and several other garden seeds as well as orange seeds. He carried them ashore with a great deal of care, and I have no doubt but he will do them great justice,

The same chief offered three hogs for a Newfoundland dog which we had on board, which shows that these people are much more anxious to improve or augment their present stock of animals and vegetables than the indolent

¹As surgeon on board the N.W. Coast fur-trader "Prince of Wales" Capt. Colnett, which was accompanied by the "Princess Royal"—Capt. Duncan.

natives of Tahiti, who seem to consider the produce of their own island as fully sufficient for every purpose of ease and luxury.

We kept pretty near the land all day, and at night lay off and on, with the wind scanty and variable. From the south-west point of the island, which appeared a small hummock, the land rose with an even gradual acclivity to the summit of Mauna Loa, which seemed to occupy the centre of the island. Though this ascent was so favorable we saw but little signs of cultivation; indeed the scanty supply of refreshments we got in the course of this day would indicate that the soil on this part of the island is not very productive.

In the forenoon of the 3rd, we again stood in for the land with a delightful day and a fresh breeze from the north-east. We were met by several canoes under full sail coming out to us, who accompanied us back again, and about noon being within five miles of Kealakekua Bay, we brought to with the ship's head off shore, to traffic with the natives for refreshments.

KEALAKEKUA BAY.

This famous bay seems to be hemmed in by high rocky cliffs, with a rocky, inaccessible shore extending some distance on each side. The land immediately behind it rose with a steep ascent, and here and there appeared covered with verdure, and we could observe some spots laid out in fields and little plantations, but the general sameness presented rather a dreary than a fertile prospect.

THE CHIEF KAIANA.

In one of the canoes which went out to meet us in the morning was Kaiana, the chief who accompanied Mr. Meares to China, and was afterwards settled on this island by Mr Douglas. He is a very stout, well-made man, with very pleasing, open features, and he seems to have acquired a very courteous, affable behaviour and address. He and

his family dined and slept on board this ship all night. Kaiana told us that in a war which lately happened between Kamehameha and Keoua, the two sovereigns of the island who had divided it between them on the death of Kalaniopuu, the latter fell by his hand in battle, and as a reward for his bravery and services, that Kamehameha had given him the government of his territories in the three southern districts.² while he managed the others himself, and was at this time in a village on the north side of the island.

Notwithstanding this acquired power of Kaiana on Hawaii, he now proposed to Captain Vancouver to visit Kauai, if he would give him a passage in the ship, together with his brother Namakeha and a few others who were to accompany him. As both these chiefs had been disseized of their property on that island by their brother Kaeo, King of Kauai, it was very probable that they now sought an opportunity of being revenged by dispossessing him of his government, and if this was their aim, they could not have chosen a more favorable time to accomplish their purpose, for we were told that Kaeo, with most of the chiefs of Kauai and Niihau, were at this time on a warlike expedition at Maui, the intent of which we could not comprehend.

It was but too evident, however, that the attention of Kaiana and his followers were wholly directed to warlike preparations, for nothing was now held in greater estimation or more eagerly sought after than fire arms and powder by those very people who, but a few years back, shuddered at the report of a musquet, but which they could now

²Keoua was massacred by Keeaumoku at Kawaihae. Kaiana, however, had undoubtedly been rewarded by Kamehameha for his assistance in his war against Keoua.

handle with a degree of ease and dexterity that equalled the most expert veteran.³

The firearms and ammunition which Kaiana landed with, and the increase he has obtained since from different vessels, were no doubt looked upon by his countrymen as the principal means which had risen him to his present greatness, and it was natural enough for them to wish to possess such powerful weapons.

SUNDAY MUSTER ON BOARD THE DISCOVERY.

March 4th. Next morning, being Sunday, the ships company as usual were mustered in their clean clothes on the quarter-deck, where Kaiana and several others attended, who seemed to take great pleasure in reviewing each individual as he passed before them, and they were all the while expressing their surprise at the great number of people and chiefs (for so they called all the gentlemen promiscuously) we had on board.

The superiority, too, of discipline, regulations and government which they could not help comparing with what they had been of late years accustomed to see in merchant ships, must, on this occasion, contribute not a little to heighten their curiosity and astonishment, and impress them no doubt with favorable ideas of our superior strength and power.

The weather was fine and pleasant, but mostly calm, with intervals of light, variable airs, so that we kept opposite to Kealakekua Bay most of the day, trading with the natives for refreshments.

KUALELO AND KUMEEMEEKANE, THE FIRST NATIVES OF HAWAII TO LAND IN ENGLAND.

Kualelo having since his arrival made several enquiries

³Not only in Hawaii but in Tahiti and New Zealand, muskets were eagerly sought by the natives during the end of the 18th and first half of the 19th century. "The value of a musket was not to be estimated to a native by just what he gave for it. He gave all he had or could procure; and had he ten times as much to give he would have given it, if necessary, or if not, he would buy ten muskets in-

after his friends and relatives at Molokai, but hearing few of them survived a destructive war which had desolated that island since his departure, now expressed a strong wish of remaining here with Kaiana, as he had some hopes of ingratiating himself with that chief, who like himself was a traveller, and appeared at this time to have considerable power on the island, and as he was now after four years absence brought safe back again to his native country, he was permitted to go on shore wherever he conceived it most conducive to his future happiness and welfare. But before we take leave of him, it may not here be unnecessary to give the reader a general outline of his history.

Kualelo's relations on Molokai were, I believe, people of very inconsiderable rank, power or property, when in January 1788 he embarked on board the sloop *Princess Royal*, commanded by Mr. Charles Duncan, a Master in the Royal Navy. This sloop was consort to the ship *Prince of Wales*, of which I was then surgeon, and our sole object at these islands was to procure refreshments that might enable us to return again to the North-West Coast of America to collect furs for the Chinese market. Mr. Duncan's motive for taking him on board was his lively and sprightly appearance and his own voluntary offer. Though only then about 11 or 12 years of age, the only request he made was, that a suitable present should be made to his brother before they parted, which was liberally complied with, when they took a very affectionate leave of each other.

But it was soon after found that his intentions were to defraud by swimming away from the vessel, the first favorable opportunity, and Mr. Duncan, not willing to be duped by so young a novice, ordered a watchful eye to be kept over him while they remained among the islands. Notwithstanding this precaution, he twice very nearly made his escape, the last of which he got so far from the vessel on his way to the shore that they were obliged to fire a musquet

stead of one. Muskets, muskets, muskets, nothing but muskets! was the first demand of the Maori—muskets and gunpowder at any cost" (Old New Zealand, by a Pakeha Maori-Maning.)

over his head, which so frightened him that he was nearly drowned before the boat could go to pick him up. From this time he reconciled himself more to the vessel, and soon became the favorite of all his shipmates, who, on many occasions, found him exceedingly useful in watching over the pilfering dispositions of the North-West Coast Indians. The interest of the voyage requiring that the two vessels should separate soon after we left the islands, Mr. Duncan thought it necessary to augment his little crew by a man from Niihau, who proved a great acquisition to him and an acceptable companion to our young adventurer.

After six months absence he returned again to Molokai, with very unfavorable ideas of the natives he had seen on the North-West Coast of America. Here Mr. Duncan came to an anchor with an intent to settle him in an eligible manner, either with his relations or under the care of some chief to whom he meant to recommend him by considerable presents; but during his stay he saw none likely to take his charge off his hands, nor none indeed with whom the youth would wish to remain. On the contrary, he now implored leave, with tears in his eyes, to accompany them to *Britanee*⁴, which he had a strong inclination of seeing, from the many pleasing stories he had heard the sailors relate of it. Mr. Duncan, desirous of satisfying his laudable curiosity, brought him to China the latter end of the same year, and from thence he came with him to England in the Prince of Wales, where he arrived in the month of July, 1789, where he and another boy still younger, of a most amiable disposition, named Kumeemeekeane, who came at the same time in the most voluntary manner from Niihau, were the two first natives of these islands that landed in England.

Here I might swell these pages with their juvenile ob-

⁴Britanee, or rather Britania, i.e., Britain. Beretania Street is the name of one of the principal avenues in Honolulu. A native of Britain is called Pelekane by the Hawaiians.

servations and transactions in the course of this long voyage, but I think it necessary only to say that at China they were caressed by the different officers of the European shipping. At St. Helena they first saw an English settlement, where the various evolutions of the company's troops, the number, size and weight of the cannon on the batteries, and the particular dress and peculiar beauty of the English ladies were the objects which most attracted their exploring fancy and admiration. In the River Thames they went on board the first British man-of-war. At Long Reach they were shown the magazines of powder and ordnance stores, and in passing Woolwich Yard, they saw a three-decker on the stocks. On these different occasions their astonishment was raised to a mixture of awe and admiration; but in going up the river from Deptford through swarmed groups of shipping and passing under the bridges, they, in a manner, lost the power of utterance and continued only to use that of their sight by gazing on the various and crowded objects around them in silent wonder and amazement.

Kualelo spent his first winter and spring down at Plymouth under the care and tuition of Mr. James Johnstone who commanded the Prince of Wales from China, and was soon after appointed to superintend a division of the ships in ordinary at that port. This gentleman's first object was to have him inoculated for the smallpox, which he underwent with little inconvenience, and then he was sent to a public school in the neighbourhood, where great pains were taken to learn him to read and write. The first it seems could not be accomplished, for though he soon acquired a thorough knowledge and pretty exact pronunciation of the simple letters of our alphabet, yet no power of art could carry him a step further and get him to join or mingle these different sounds together in the formation of a word. But in writing he made greater progress, that is, he soon acquired a habit of copying whatever was placed before him with great exactness in the same manner he would do a drawing or a picture. Indeed, to the art of

drawing in general he appeared most partial, and would no doubt in a short time make great proficiency with the aid of a little instruction, but in this uncultivated state of his mind, he seemed fondest of those rude pictures called caricatures, and frequently amused himself in taking off even his friends in imitation of these pieces.

The next summer he accompanied Mr. Duncan to Hudson's Bay, where that gentleman was sent to examine the Great Inlets and to make discoveries on the interior navigation of that country, but from reasons best known to the company's servants abroad, he was not duly equipped to enter on his plans of operation, so that he was obliged to return again to London contrary to expectations, the following autumn, where Kualelo remained with his patron till he embarked on board the *Discovery*.

Mr. James Lee of Hammersmith, a gentleman whose liberal and philanthropic mind has ever been arduously engaged in diffusing as well as collecting the vegetable productions of different climes, was so good as to send after me to Portsmouth, a large assortment of garden seeds to be distributed in the course of the voyage wherever they were most likely to be most useful and beneficial to mankind. In compliance with his humane intention, I made up a suitable collection of these for Kualelo before he went on shore, with instructions how to manage them, and about 150 orange seedlings, with some vines that were reared in the frame on the quarter deck. He had also a spade, an axe and a piece of red cloth, with some other trinkets from Capt. Vancouver, so that all the riches he landed with after so long an absence made but a very inconsiderable bundle, which would no doubt give the natives a very unfavorable idea of our liberality had they not been told that he would be settled in a more eligible manner on our return again to these islands. This fair promise indeed induced himself not to wish for many things at this time, as he would then be better able to judge what would be most useful to him.

In the afternoon he took leave in a very becoming manner of all the officers, and on this occasion he could not suppress the emotions of his heart or the overflow of his eyes as he went over the ship's side into Kaiana's canoe, when that chief was saluted with a few guns from the *Discovery*.⁵ In leaving us he went on board the *Chatham* to take leave of the officers and his friend Mr. Johnstone, and in paddling afterwards to the shore, he often turned about his face and waved his hand as token of adieu and good will to his shipmates.

ARRIVAL AT KAWAIHAE BAY.

We continued creeping slowly to the northward at no great distance from the shore, and in the dusk of the evening a double canoe came off to us from the south point of Kawaihæ Bay, and on her approaching we were not a little surprised to hear one of the natives hail the ship in English, ask what we were, the captain's name, and where we were going. On his coming on board we found that his adopted name was Jack Ingraham; that he had learned his English in a voyage to Boston in North America, with a Mr. Ingraham, master of an American trader, who brought him back again and left him here about five or six months ago.

KEEAUMOKU.

After giving this information of himself, Jack begged with great modesty to let his master come on board, who was an elderly man, and we believe a chief of some power on the island, named Keeaumoku. When he made his appearance he put into Capt. Vancouver's hand a recommendatory letter in the Spanish language dated, and signed James Kemper, commander of the sloop *Princess Royal*. It was accompanied with an English transla-

⁵Consort of the *Chatham*, of which James Johnstone, Kualelo's friend, was master.

tion mentioning the civility and good treatment they received from the king and chiefs of the island during their stay.

Jack and his master, with some others, remained on board all night, and as we made but little way through the water, their canoes were taken in tow. These people would not allow that Kaiana had so much power as he himself represented, yet at the same time they all agreed that he was a great chief and a brave warrior.

"JACK INGRAHAM" ALIAS KALEHUA SAILS WITH CAPTAIN VANCOUVER.

March 5th. Jack Ingraham's knowledge of the English language and his pleasing open manners induced Capt. Vancouver next morning to offer him a trip with us to the North-West Coast of America, acquainting him at the same time that we should be back again at these islands in eight or nine months, to which, after a little conversation with the old chief, he soon acquiesced, and remained on board, parting with the old man and the rest of his friends in the forenoon with little ceremony, so that we shall hereafter call him by his proper name Kalehua. The old chief had sore eyes and his body was covered all over with a white scaly scurf, the effect of the pernicious *ava*.⁶ On his leaving the ship he was saluted with some guns, and besides other presents had a she goat, big with kid, and some orange seedlings, with directions how to manage them. As he went ashore, all the canoes followed him and we had but very few visitors afterwards. In the forenoon they brought us a great variety of fish from the south side of the bay, so that I was busily employed in examining and preserving them. At noon we were nearly in the centre of Kawaihae Bay, about two leagues off shore, and the afternoon was mostly calm till nine at night, when a breeze sprung up

⁶*Ava* or *awa*, *piper methysticum*, Forst.

from east-north-east, with which we bore up and sailed to the northeastward, but the Chatham being becalmed some time after, and not sufficiently understanding our signal, we soon lost sight of her and parted company, having a fresh favorable breeze the whole night.

PASSES KAHOO LAWE AND LANAI.

March 6th. Early next morning we passed to the southward of Kahoolawe and was at noon off the south end of Lanai in latitude 20 deg. 40 mins North, the south point of which appearing a steep, sandy precipice bore N20E about four miles off. The wind being light and variable, with clear weather in the middle of the day, gave us an opportunity of observing the state and naked appearance of this end of the island, which seemed thinly covered with shrivelled grass in a scorched state. No hamlets or plantations were to be seen, no trees or bushes adorned the face of the country, which swelled out gradually to a moderate height, so that we have reason to think that the island is but very thinly inhabited. A few canoes came off to us with two or three men in each, which we conjectured were a fishing party or led merely by curiosity, as they brought nothing to dispose of and had no women with them.

MOLOKAI.

The trade wind freshening again at night enabled us to pass the west end of Molokai, which, like Lanai, presents a naked dreary barren waste without either habitation or cultivation; its only covering is a kind of thin withered grass, which, in many parts, is scarcely sufficient to hide its surface apparently composed of dry rocky and sandy soil. We directed our course for Oahu, the east end of which we were close in with early next morning, and from thence steered along shore on the south side of the island for about 16 miles, when we came to a large bay called by the natives

WAIKIKI.

Here we came to an anchor about ten in the forenoon in 10 fathoms of water over a bottom of coral sand and shells, about two miles from the shore. The eastern point of the bay, a high bluff promontory⁷ bore N. 80 E, and the western extreme N 81 W. Abreast of us was a large village, where in the afternoon, I went ashore with Capt. Vancouver and some of the officers in two boats, attended by a party of marines and accompanied by some of the natives. On landing we were surprised to find so few inhabitants, and on enquiring into the cause, they told us that Kahekili, the king of the island, with all his warriors numerously attended, were at Molokai, on their way to Maui to join Kaeo, King of Kauai, in preserving these islands from the rapacity of Kamehameha and Kaiana, who were expected to invade them from Hawaii, and indeed we had no reason to doubt this information from the small number of indifferent canoes which visited the ship, and the scanty supply of refreshments we received in comparison to the fertile and cultivated appearance of the country.

The verge of the shore was planted with a large grove of cocoanut palms, affording a delightful shade to the scattered habitations of the natives. Some of those near the beach were raised a few feet from the ground upon a kind of stage, so as to admit the surf to wash underneath them. We pursued a pleasing path back into the plantation, which was nearly level and very extensive, and laid out with great neatness into little fields planted with taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the cloth plant.⁸ These, in many cases, were divided by little banks on which grew the sugar cane

⁷Leahi or Diamond Head, now a U.S. fort.

⁸*Broussontia papyrifera*, nat. name Wauke, the bark of which was used in making tapa or kapa cloth.

and a species of *Draecena*⁹ without the aid of much cultivation, and the whole was watered in a most ingenious manner by dividing the general stream into little aqueducts leading in various directions so as to be able to supply the most distant fields at pleasure, and the soil seemed to repay the labor and industry of these people by the luxuriance of its productions. Here and there we met with ponds of considerable size, and besides being well stocked with fish, they swarmed with water fowl of various kinds such as ducks, coots, water hens, bitterns, plovers and curlews. On shooting some of these as we went along, the natives took much pleasure in picking up our game, and fetching them to us wherever they fell. Indeed the few that followed us, behaved themselves with a great deal of respect and civility and were no ways troublesome with their teasing curiosity. They frequently offered us both musk and water melons, which they thought might be more acceptable to us as they received the seeds from Britannee.

On returning to the beach after a circuit of about three miles, we found that they had dressed hogs and taro for us, but as we had neither time nor much inclination to eat anything, they insisted on packing them up cleanly in leaves and putting them into our boats.

Though we saw several little groups of women in our route, yet none of them durst come near us, this being their kapu pule day, a ritual with these people somewhat similar to our Sundays, and on which the men and women are particularly prohibited from associating or having the least connections with each other. The same reason prevented any of the women from making their appearance this day, either alongside or on board the vessel.

A little before midnight, the Chatham came to an anchor on the inside of us. After losing sight of us on the evening of the 5th, they stretched out over as soon as the

⁹*Dracaena terminalis* or *Cordyline terminalis*, native name ti or ki, from the root of which, since the advent of the white race, a spirit called okolehao is distilled.

breeze favored them for Maui, and after stopping a few hours off a small bay at the west end of the island¹⁰, where the natives supplied them with some water and refreshments, they came down between Lanai and Molokai to join us again.

March 8th. The morning of the 8th, our people were engaged in setting up the rigging fore and aft, and the caulkers began to caulk the quarter deck, the seams of which were so open as to admit the rain through them as it fell; nor were the natives less assiduous in supplying our wants. They began pretty early to bring off large calabashes of fresh water, some salt and refreshments, particularly vegetables in abundance. They also brought some pearls¹¹ to dispose of, but they were for the most part small, badly shaped and ill colored, so consequently of little value; and whoever might be inclined to censure the conduct of the ladies for withholding their company from us on the preceding day, had now no reason to complain, for they came off in large groups, not only in the canoes, but on swimming boards with no other intention than of tendering their persons to anyone that would choose to have them, and those who were unsuccessful in their aim went away chiding us for our want of gallantry.

The view of this bay from the ship was truly delightful. The shore was bordered with low land, interspersed with groves of cocoanut palms, and the scattered habitations of the natives, from which fertile plantations, such as we have already described, stretched back and mounted up the sides of the hills in various directions, forming a strik-

¹⁰Makena Bay or Maalaea Bay.

¹¹Pearls taken from a species of oyster (*margaritifera fimbriata*) were, at date of Menzies' visit, to be found at Wai Momi, now known as Pearl Harbor, which, since Hawaii was annexed to the United States, has become an important naval station. Silt from modern sugar plantations bordering on Pearl Harbor has killed off these pearl oysters, which were not the same kind as the pearl shell of the South Seas (*Avicula margaritifera*).

ing contrast with the high, steep and rugged mountains behind them, which occupied the interior parts of the island, and reared their peaked summits, apparently covered with wood, to a great elevation. These were again intersected by chasms and deep valleys whose verdant appearance indicated the fertility of their soil, improved and adorned by rural industry. In short, it was one of those interesting landscapes which the eye of a meditative mind could long contemplate with new felt pleasure and move slowly over without wishing to quit its various and picturesque beauties.

By a meridian altitude, the latitude of our anchorage here was 21 deg. 17 min. North, and during our stay, we observed a strong current setting to the eastward.

SAILS FOR KAUAI.

About two in the afternoon, we both weighed anchor, and made sail for Kauai, as it was thought the business of watering could be much easier performed at that island than here, where it was necessary to roll the casks some way inland before they could be filled. Having but light wind, it was the dusk of the evening before we passed the western extreme of the bay which juts out into a low flat point bearing nearly west of the high promontory about the distance of 5 leagues. From this low point¹² the shore takes nearly a north-west direction, is pretty straight and backed by naked elevated mountains,¹³ which appear to rise steep from the water side.

March 9th. On passing the western extreme of the island, we were favored with a fresh breeze which continued all night, and by daylight next morning we were off the east end of Kauai.

¹²Laeloa, or Barber's Point.

¹³The Waianae range.

WAIMEA, KAUAI.

From thence we coasted along the southern shore, and at 9 came to an anchor in Waimea Bay in 24 fathoms water and moored. The extremes of the bay were from N. 71 W. to S. 67 E, and the entrance of the river N. 31 E. about 2 miles off. We were soon visited by some of the natives in their canoes, which were all single ones and nowise numerous. These confirmed what we had heard at the other islands as we came along, that Kaeo, their king, with all the warriors and double canoes of this island and Niihau were at Maui to assist his brother Kahekili, against the king of Hawaii. They further added that his son, a young prince named Kaumualii, was left invested with regal dignities under the care of Inamoo,¹⁴ an elderly chief, who was also charged with the administration of government during the king's absence. Both were at this time at Puna, a district on the east end of the Island, but might be expected here in the course of two or three days as an express would be sent to acquaint them of our arrival.

Soon after we came to an anchor I went on shore with Capt. Vancouver and some of the officers in the pinnace, followed by the launch with the watering party and some marines. We landed on a sandy beach near the mouth of the river where we were received by the natives with great order and regularity. A large space was immediately tabooed from the sea side back of the side of the river, including two large houses for the use of the party who were to be left on shore; and excepting the chiefs or people of authority, none durst venture within these taboo marks, so that the duty might be carried on without any molestation from the curiosity of the crowd, who peaceably arranged themselves along the lines. The water casks were immediately landed, and a party of the natives assisted in filling

¹⁴Inamoo, "lizard's egg."

them and rolling them back again to the surf, where they managed them with great dexterity in swimming them off to the boat which lay at a grappling, and were each satisfied with a nail and a few beads for their day's labor.

The business being thus amicably began, I walked with Captain Vancouver into the plantation and passed over a place where a number of houses had recently burnt down. This I knew to be formerly the site of Kaeo's residence, for whom these houses had been particularly tabooed, and as, according to the custom of the country, no one could inhabit them after him, it is probable that they were thus destroyed when he departed on his present warlike expedition.

Through this plantation, which is tolerably level, the village of Waimea is irregularly scattered over the bottom of a valley facing the bay by a fine sandy beach, where it is about half a mile wide and gets gradually narrower as it recedes back from the shore. It is sheltered on both sides by steep, rocky banks, in the caverns of which the natives in many places form habitations. The river which here glides on so smoothly as to form a pleasing sheet of water, takes the direction of the eastern side of the valley for nearly two miles back, where it divides into two branches¹⁵ which fall from the mountains by separate valleys formed by steep, rocky precipices that give them a wild and romantic appearance.

HAWAIIAN MASONRY AQUEDUCT.

That which comes from the north-west appears more considerable, as it is navigable for their canoes some way up. We walked to the conflux of these two streams, and found that the aquaduct which waters the whole plantation is brought with much art and labor along the bottom of the rocks from this north-west branch, for here we saw it

¹⁵The Waimea river to the N.W. and the Makaweli river to the N.E.

supported in its course through a narrow pass by a piece of masonry raised from the side of the river, upwards of 20 feet and facing its bank in so neat and artful a manner as would do no discredit to more scientific builders. Indeed the whole plantation is laid out with great neatness and is intersected by small elevated banks conveying little streams from the above aquaduct to flood the distant fields on each side at pleasure, by which their esculent roots are brought to such perfection, that they are the best of every kind I ever saw.

On returning again to the beach we found everything went on very quiet and regular. The party was therefore left on shore, consisting of six marines, two seamen and some of the gentlemen under the command of Lieut. Puget,¹⁶ while on the evening we returned on board well satisfied with the peaceable disposition of the natives.

NAMAKAEHA AND INAMOO.

March 10th. In the forenoon of the 10th, a double canoe came alongside with a tall man of some power on the island, named Namakaeha¹⁷ formerly "aikane"¹⁸ to Inamoo, and now his assistant in the administration of the government. He brought with him an English seaman who was left here about five months ago by an American brig, the *Lady Washington*, commanded by Mr. Kendrick.¹⁹ This man's name was John Roebottom (Rowebottom). He

¹⁶Lieut. Peter Puget, of the *Discovery*. Vancouver gave his name to the stretch of water now known as Puget Sound.

¹⁷Namakaeha, "sore eyes."

¹⁸Aikane, a chum or close friend; also used in a low sense.

¹⁹Captain John Kendrick, one of the earliest American fur traders. He was accidentally killed by the wad from one of the guns fired off from the *Jackal*, when a salute was fired in Honolulu harbor in honor of the victory of Kalanikupule over Kaeo. Capt. Kendrick was seated at dinner in his cabin when the accident took place.

told us that two other seamen were left behind with him on the island by the same vessel to collect sanders wood²⁰ and pearls, and that Mr. Kendrick was to return in about twenty months to take them and their cargo on board. He also said that they were almost starved and very ill treated by the natives for some time after they landed, but that they now lived with the young king and his guardian on very good terms, and were no ways tired of their situation.

Though this honest lad came on board as decent as he could, dressed with what little remained with him of his clothes, yet he said that they had long ago laid them aside and only wore the malo on shore like the natives. This induced Capt. Vancouver to clothe him with some slops, and ask him to live on board while we remained here, as the society of our seamen, change of diet and a little grog, might be more grateful to him.

Captain Vancouver, Mr. Broughton,²¹ Mr. Whidbey²² and myself landed with this seaman at the encampment, where we found the natives more numerous than on the preceding day, and a brisk trade established for firewood, hogs and vegetables under the management of Mr. Colet²³, gunner of the Discovery, who gave them in exchange pieces of iron, nails, knives, beads, looking glasses and scissors. The last article was in great estimation, particularly among the women for cutting their hair, with which they were very particular.²⁴

As we were desirous to vary our excursion, this day a double canoe was launched into the river to carry us up

²⁰Sandalwood, *santalum Freycinetianum*, nat. name Iliahi.

²¹Lieut. Wm. R. Broughton, commander of the armed tender, Chatham.

²²Joseph Whidbey, master of the Discovery.

²³Richard Collett.

²⁴"The general fashion, among the women in particular, is to have it long before and short behind" (Capt. J. Cook's M.S. Log). The Hawaiian women formerly stained their front hair with white clay "palolo" or coral lime, "puna."

the stream that we might have a better view of the surrounding objects and trace how far it was navigable for such conveyance. Though in some places it is near a hundred yards wide, yet we found it for the most part shallow, particularly the entrance, where it is likewise very narrow, so that nothing but canoes can come over the bar, and that only in fine weather when the surf does not run high. When we came to the meeting of the two streams, we pursued the north-west branch²⁵ for about a mile further, and then found its depth so inconsiderable that we were obliged to quit the canoe and landed in a small plantation economically laid out and richly cropped with the esculent vegetables of the country. The valley also became much narrower, and was on both sides hemmed in by high steep cavernous rocks of a most romantic appearance. Yet it seemed inhabited much higher up than we traced it, as we soon after returned through the village of Waimea and came on board to dinner. The natives told us that they had a small anchor on shore, but we could not prevail on them to show us where it was. The party on shore complained much that the taboo on the part they occupied was so strict as to deprive them of the society of the ladies, for no inducement could get any of them to enter either of the houses or come within the lines.

A BEACHCOMBER.

March 11th. The following day, James Coleman,²⁶ another of the Lady Washington's people, came on board with a message to Captain Vancouver from the young king to acquaint him that he was on his march thither, and would be at Waimea the following day. This man made his appearance dressed like the natives, with only a malo round

²⁵The Waimea river.

²⁶Vancouver had a poor opinion of this Irishman, who had become a regular beachcomber.

his waist, and indeed his skin was so much sun burnt that he differed from them very little in color. He was tatooed with a broad badge over his left shoulder meeting low down on his left side.

Though the natives were getting more numerous, they were still kept in good order by Namakaeha and two or three other chiefs who attached themselves to the party, and were extremely ready and active in performing every little act of civility and kindness that lay in their power. I walked with Captain Vancouver in the afternoon along shore towards the western point of the bay, and in returning back in the dusk of the evening we observed a large fire kindled a few miles to the eastward of Waimea²⁷, and spreading over the face of that plain country, which was mostly covered with dry, rank grass²⁸ that burnt with great rapidity. This alarmed Captain Vancouver, who supposed that it might be a signal for commencing hostilities on the part of the islanders, and so firm was he of this opinion, that, on our joining our party, he could not help expressing his mind to the surrounding multitude with such menacing threats that they became alarmed in their turn by a general desertion from our encampment, excepting the chiefs above mentioned, who still remained with us, and to do them justice, used every means in their power to convince him to the contrary, by saying that the fire had been kindled to burn down the old shrivelled grass and low vegetables, and for no other purpose whatever, which I believe was literally the case, as I recollected well that the same fields were burnt down in the same manner when I was here a few years ago. I mentioned this to Captain Vancouver, and that the natives then gave the same reason for doing it, adding that by this means the next crop of grass grew up clear and free

²⁷In the Makaweli direction.

²⁸"Pili" grass, *Heteropogon contortus*. "Pili" means to stick or adhere to, the awns of this grass adhering to the skin or clothes. It was used by the natives to thatch the sides and roofs of their huts.

of stumps, and was therefore better adapted for thatching their houses, which was the principal use they make of it.

CAPTAIN VANCOUVER AND MIDSHIPMAN PIGOT NEARLY DROWNED.

When we were afterwards going on board it was necessary to send in to the village for two of the affrighted natives to carry us in one of their canoes through the surf to the pinnace which lay off at a grappling, and by some accident or other this canoe upset in going with Captain Vancouver and two of the young gentlemen, who owed their safety in a great measure to the strength of the surf driving them back again upon the beach. Captain Vancouver would not trust himself again in the canoe, as he suspected the natives had upset it designedly. He therefore swam off to the boat attended by two of our own people who in going afterwards with one of the young gentlemen lost hold of him in a violent surf which broke over their heads, so that he was nearly drowned. On our hearing, however, a wild yell in the surf, for it was then dark, we suspected the danger, and rallied the chiefs to go and save Mr. Pigot,²⁹ as he could not swim. To do justice to their feelings, they instantly threw off their garments, jumped into the surf, and soon after brought him on shore almost speechless. He was carried into a house where he was wrapped up in warm blankets, and, in a little time, happily recovered.

These accidents induced those who were on shore to remain with the party. Captain Vancouver went on board wet and uncomfortable, and ordered two launches manned and armed, to come and lay off the beach all night, that in case of an attack from the natives the whole party might be able to retreat by embarking on board them. Everything, however, remained quiet. The chiefs continued with the party as usual, and to secure that confidence which they placed in us, I went into the village, where I was kindly treated and slept in Namakaeha's house all night.

²⁹Robert Pigot, midshipman on the *Discovery*.

March 12th. On the morning of the 12th most parts of the great plain³⁰ to the eastward of Waimea were entirely burnt black, and in many places the conflagration was not yet ceased. Several of us set out pretty early with our guns to pursue our sport in different directions, as there were plenty of ducks, bitterns and plovers to be met with among the taro fields and small ponds through the plantations. I went along shore to the westward, and among other game I shot a small plover which appeared to be a new species, and as I observed it continually running about the water of the surf I named it *Charadrius littoreus*. On my coming back again about breakfast time to the encampment, I found a messenger who had come ashore for me requesting my attendance on Lieutenant Baker³¹ who had been very ill since we came among these islands of a rheumatic fever. I therefore hastened on board to see him. Everything on shore remained still quiet. The natives were collecting again round the lines as usual, bringing plenty of vegetables, such as taro, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, water melons and plantains, but most of the hogs were tabooed until the king's arrival, in consequence of which only three were bought in the course of the day's traffic.

About noon another of the Lady Washington's people named Richard Williams came to the party on shore with excuses from the young king, saying that he should not be able to complete his journey sooner than the following day, and that he would endeavor to be with us pretty early.

Having completed our water, the boats were employed in the afternoon bringing off the vegetables and firewood which had been purchased on shore from the natives, after which they were sent on shore with orders for Lt. Puget to bring off the party; but as the surf ran very high, which

³⁰Makaweli, now occupied by the Hawaiian Sugar Co's plantation.

³¹Lieutenant Joseph Baker, of the Discovery.

it generally did towards night, Mr. Puget conceived that to embark the whole party this evening would be attended with considerable risk and danger, and such as he thought he could not be answerable for without first making it known to Captain Vancouver. He therefore sent off a messenger for that purpose and to request leave to remain on shore till next morning, as they were on the most friendly terms with the natives. The messenger was sent back with the former orders enforced, and it then being then dark, several of the party who could not swim were in the utmost danger of losing their lives by a large canoe upsetting with them in the surf, where they lost two musquets, three axes, a crescent saw and some other articles. The Chatham's party left two water casks on shore with other articles. Mr. Puget left his own trunk; Mr. Manley, master's mate³², left a valuable double barrellled fowling piece; Mr Mackenzie³³ a small brass blunderbuss, and several other articles belonging to themselves were left with the chiefs rather than risque them through the surf. They all came on board in the most uncomfortable manner, wet to the skin. The launch was hoisted in, and every preparation made to leave the bay.

March 13th. Early next morning we unmoored, after which, Mr Puget and Mr. Manley went in in an armed boat to endeavour to recover those things which had been left on shore on the preceding evening, for their being able to retrieve them was much doubted, on a supposition that the inducement of possessing the double barrellled fowling piece and the brass blunderbuss, both of which had often been admired by these people, were allurements too great for their honesty to resist. But far contrary to every sordid suspicion of the kind, they, in this instance, displayed a fidelity of trust that did them great honor, and could not fail of impressing us with the most favorable ideas of their

³²Thomas Manley, master's mate on the Discovery.

³³George McKenzie, midshipman on the Discovery.

principles of action and general conduct, as it evidently showed that whatever their propensities may be in other respects, they are not easily tempted to defraud or neglect the interest of those who can place a due degree of confidence in them. Every article was found in the same situation in which it was left, and even the most valuable articles that had been lost in the surf were, at the instigation of the chiefs, recovered, and laid with the rest, and the whole delivered to the officers in the most handsome manner.

KING KAUMUALII, ALIAS "KING GEORGE."

When they went on shore, they also found the young king and his guardian waiting on the beach, but as we were on the point of sailing, neither of them would venture to come on board unless some of our gentlemen remained on shore as pledges for their security. Mr. Puget went on board to apprise Captain Vancouver of their arrival and offered to remain on shore provided their request met with his approbation, which it did. Soon after Inamoo came on board with his wife and daughter, bringing with them a large present of cloth, mats and hogs for Capt Vancouver. When they made their appearance on deck, they instantly recollected me, and I had a friendly embrace from all of them, for this old chief and his family attached themselves very much to the vessel I was on board at the islands a few years ago, and during our stay in this bay they were our daily and constant visitors, so that the cautious manner in which they came now on board, and their requiring hostages to be left for them on shore, makes me strongly suspect that they have been ill treated by some vessel or other since that time. Inamoo's stay on board was very short, after satisfying himself with what we were, for that seemed to be his chief object, he hastened on shore to send off his young charge.

Before he went a suitable present was offered to him by Captain Vancouver, instead of which he earnestly solicited

firearms and powder, but when he was positively assured that these would not be given, he readily took the other articles and appeared satisfied. On his leaving the ship he was saluted with four guns.

When Inamoo landed, his opinion had so far altered in our favor from the treatment he had received, that he suffered Mr. Puget to come on board entrusted with the young king, who was accompanied by another young chief, a little older than himself, named Kapuni. In his dress Kaumuali'i differed very little on this occasion from the rest of the natives. He appeared to be about 11 or 12 years of age, with open pleasing features, easy and affable in his behaviour, and remarkably inquisitive and pertinent in his enquiries into every little thing he saw about the ship, for he was not long on board when by his own particular request he was carried through every part of her. On his coming to the gun room, a glass decanter that was on the table attracted his attention very much, on which the officers who were then at dinner presented him with it and a wine glass, but he requested that the decanter might be filled with wine, which was complied with, and he then accepted both with seeming satisfaction. He has adopted the name of King George, and will hardly suffer himself to be called by any other. Although I had seen him but once before, off the east end of the island when he was much younger, yet the different little circumstances attending that meeting were still fresh in his memory.

After Captain Vancouver had made him and his companion several presents, among which were a he and a she goat, he went on shore in the pinnace, apparently well satisfied with his reception.

Mr. Whidbey, who was employed in sounding the bay, found a great deal of rocky ground, and in one place a little to the eastward of our weather anchor, a patch of rocks whereon there was only three fathoms, and surrounded with deep water from thirty to forty fathoms. He thinks the

best situation and bottom for vessels is much nearer the shore off the mouth of the river. These proofs of the rockiness of the bay gave us strong reason to suppose that the cable which we had cut here in the former voyage might be done by the rocks, and not by the natives, as was then generally believed, from its end in coming in being cut by an edged tool, but we do not find that the natives have recovered the anchor which no doubt would be their greatest inducement for performing such extraordinary feats of diving as to remain under water in the depth of 44 fathoms so long as to be able to perform the tedious task of cutting a 13 or 14 inch cable.

The southern shore of this island is indented and marked here and there with sand beaches, and the land along it is most plain and naked, stretching some way back with a very gradual ascent where it begins to swell into high rugged mountains covered with wood, which occupy the centre of the island. These are intersected with low valleys, at the foot of which villages and cultivated spots were generally observed, but there appeared to be a great deal of waste or barren land covered only at this time with shrivelled grass. The south-east point is rendered conspicuous by a conic rugged hill³⁴, from which the shore takes a south-west direction for some miles.

The wind while we remained here might be said to be variable, as it blew in that time from almost every direction; but the prevailing trade-wind from the north-east quarter blew always fresher and in strong gales. The weather was very temperate, continued fair, and for the most part was clear and pleasant.

PLENTY OF MUSK AND WATER MELONS..

The natives have now added to their former stock of vegetables, greens, musk and water melons, which they rear

³⁴Haupu Hill.

to such perfection and plenty that we had a daily supply of each. Greens were indeed growing here in small quantities when I was here formerly, and were, I believe, left by Mr. Portlock³⁵ but the melons, I think, they have received from some visitor since that period, as we then met with neither of them at any of the islands, and the musk melon we have only seen here and at Oahu. And to add further to these industrious people's collection, upwards of a hundred young orange plants were sent on shore before our departure, under the care of the Lady Washington's people, to be planted in different places through the island.

By the natives here and the three Englishmen we were informed that Kaiana and other chiefs of Hawaii had captured by surprise an American schooner³⁶ and put all the crew to death except one man,³⁷ who found means to make his escape, and that the vessel was still in their possession on that island.

NIIHAU.

March 14th. Early on the morning of the 14th, we both weighed and made sail with a favorable breeze for the island of Niihau, where about ten in the forenoon we came to an anchor under the south-east point (which forms a steep bluff composed of rocks and sand) in 14 fathoms, soft ground, the points bearing N. 77 E. and N. 48 W., and Kaula S. 58 W. off shore about three quarters of a mile and from the bluff point rather more than a mile.

As our sole object here was to procure a stock of yams, which this island affords more abundantly than any of the group, Inamoo ordered the chiefs, who attached them-

³⁵Captain Nathaniel Portlock, of the fur trader King George, which touched at the Sandwich Islands in 1786. He had previously visited the Islands in 1778-9, when master's mate with Captain Cook on his third and last voyage to the Pacific.

³⁶The Fair American, commanded by Capt. Medcalf's son.

³⁷Isaac Davis or Davies, a Welshman.

selves to our party at Waimea, to go with us and aid and assist us in forwarding our wishes. But although Namakaha and several others came with us, the principal business here was entrusted to Ku, the same chief that Mr. Meares named Friday, whose authority over the natives and obliging disposition we, on many occasions, found extremely useful..

March 15th. In the forenoon of the 15th, I went on shore to examine the adjacent extremity of the island, accompanied by Mr. Manley with his gun, whose keenness for sport could only be equalled by his dexterity in the field. The coast opposite to the ship being very rocky, and at this time quite inaccessible by a high sea breaking incessantly against it, we were carried by some of the natives in a canoe to a small sandy cove near the bluff, and there artfully landed by placing the canoe upon the top of the highest swell, which carried us safe over some sunken piled rocks, by an accelerated motion, to the beach. Here we found a few small huts, seemingly the temporary residence of a party of fishermen, with some little stages to dry their fish on, and about one hundred of the natives who, impelled by a curiosity of being near the vessel, had taken shelter in the caverns of the rocks round the cove. Having enquired for some fresh water, they showed us a place in the rocks, where a little oozed out by drops, and the careful manner in which it was collected convinced us it was a scarce article on this end of the island.

After examining this romantic bluff, which we found composed of dark porous rocks, intermixed with hardened volcanic sand and gravel, we crossed a low narrow neck of land and pursued our journey along the eastern shore for nearly two leagues without seeing anything deserving of notice excepting the desolate and barren appearance of the country we travelled through, covered with loose stones of a black and porous texture and a few stunted vegetables in a shrivelled state—no trees or bushes—no houses or any trace

of cultivation were to be seen in the whole tract. The shore was bound by rocky indented caverns, rugged and bleak in the extreme. We therefore struck across the island to within a short distance of the western shore, and its whole width did not appear to us to be above 6 or 7 miles at any part. We then directed our way back to the vessels through the interior parts of the island, making in all a circuit of four or five leagues. On the western shore we saw a few villages and some appearance of cultivation, but in the interior part of the country the same effete appearance prevailed. We passed indeed some small fields of sweet potatoes, which the natives were obliged to cover over with a layer of grass to preserve the little moisture of the soil from being exhaled by the sun's powerful heat. In the middle of the island we saw a large patch of low land encrusted over with salt, which the natives told us was overflowed with water in the rainy season, and shows that the soil must be strongly impregnated with that mineral. Though we here and there met with little natural tanks in the rocks which were carefully shaded over with stones to preserve the water that fell in them in rainy weather, yet these were at this time either drained up or their contents not drinkable, so that for quenching our thirst, we were chiefly indebted to some water melons we obtained from the natives.

Mr. Manley in this excursion shot about a dozen of wild fowl, consisting of three different kinds, ducks (*Anas clypeata*), curlews (*scolopax taheitiennis*) and dotterels (*Charadrius morinellus*).

CAPT.. KING'S ESTIMATE OF POPULATION TOO HIGH

We saw numbers of the natives coming loaded with their yams and vegetables from the north end of the island, carrying them to the vessels on their backs at least ten miles in the heat of the day, to obtain a few small nails for

the fruits of their laborious industry. Indeed, the northern parts and western skirts of the island seem to be the only places inhabited or capable of any degree of improvement or cultivation, from which, and from our observation on this day's excursion, I am inclined to think that Captain Cook's estimation of the number of inhabitants on this island on his first visit, is much nearer the truth than the one-tenth part of that hypothetical one given afterwards by Captain King.. But as many of the natives may probably be now absent on the present warlike expedition against Hawaii, it is reasonable to think that anything now offered on the subject with respect to the Leeward Islands in particular may not be a fair inference. We shall therefore drop the consideration of it till our observations of it are matured by a review of the other islands.

March 16th. Next day, Namakaeha, who was very urgent to accompany us in our voyage to America, and had come from Kauai in the ship for that purpose, thought proper now to decline it, which was no more than I expected, for I have known him come thus on two different vessels before with the same intentions, and in the same way found always an excuse to leave them as they were going away. I mentioned this to Capt. Vancouver, in consequence of which he gave him no present on leaving the ships, so that his chief aim on this occasion was probably frustrated.

By the mean of several meridian altitudes, the latitude of our anchorage is 21 deg. 46 min. 20 secs.. North, and is by far the most eligible situation this island affords, as it is well sheltered from the north and north-east winds, which are generally the strongest among these islands. Not only the quality of the ground, but the moderate depth of water gives it the preference.

While we remained here, the weather continued dark and cloudy, but fair; the wind kept steadily between north and nor-north-east, blew at times very fresh, and was felt much colder than we have in general experienced it within the tropics.

DISTRIBUTES SEEDS.

The barrenness of the soil on this island induces the natives to be more industrious in cultivating those vegetables which are either necessary for their own subsistence or useful in supplying the wants of accidental visitors. For this purpose, they have not only added musk and water melons to their former stock, but they daily supplied us with exceeding good savoys, and to encourage them in rearing these exotics, we were always careful to give them a good price for them whenever they brought any of them alongside for sale, and to increase their stock further, I took the opportunity of distributing among them a variety of European garden seeds and particularly of Imperial cabbage seeds which were given me by Mr. Ayton,³⁸ his Majesty's gardener at Kew, for that purpose. The eagerness with which they accepted of these seeds, and their even soliciting for more, gave me every reason to hope that they would pay a due attention to rearing them, from which future navigators may reap some advantage.

I also gave one of the Lady Washington's people, who came down with us from Kauai, a collection of garden seeds to amuse him in making a garden on that island, and instruct the natives in the method of rearing and using them.

Here, as well at every island we touched at, we parted with the natives on the most amicable terms; indeed, their docile and orderly behaviour might not arise from any change of disposition, but from the superiority of discipline and government which they might have observed in the vessels, their numerous crews' regulations, etc., compared to what they have been accustomed to see of late years. For it was a rule to admit but few into the ship, and those generally the chiefs, which was undoubtedly a good regulation, as the duty of the vessel could be carried on with more quietness and regularity, so they had no opportunity of displaying their pilfering disposition. We had no occasion to alarm

³⁸William Aiton, then manager of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and author of the work *Hortus Kewensis*.

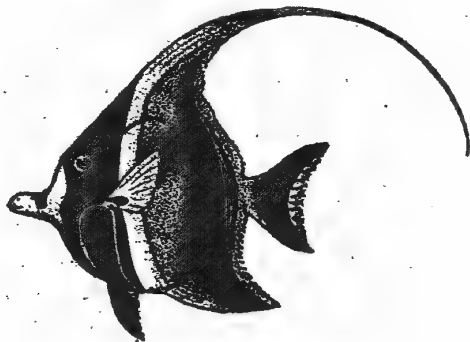
them by being obliged to punish offenders. In short, there was not the slightest interruption of the most perfect harmony throughout all their dealings.

LEAVES FOR NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA.

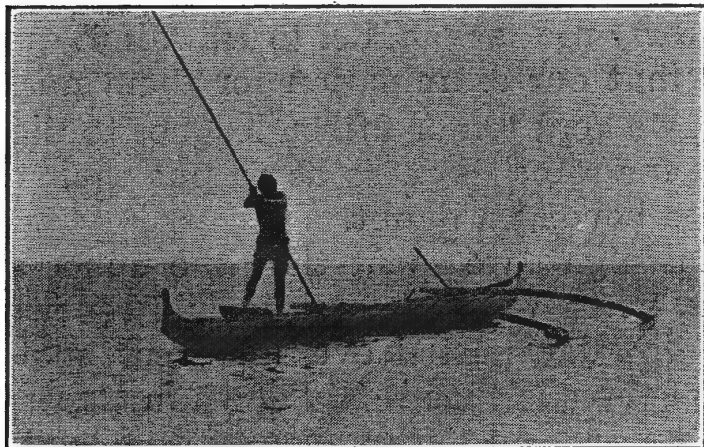
About five in the afternoon we both weighed anchor, and after making sail, stood to the north-eastward for the night, with moderate breeze and clear weather.

March 17. Having now quitted the islands, we proceeded to the northward, and on the morning of the 17th, being about 10 or 11 leagues off the west end of the island of Kauai, the wind veered to the north-west quarter and became favorable for weathering that island. We therefore tacked and stood to the north-eastward for that purpose. In the afternoon it was discovered that our main mast was sprung about 6 feet below the hounds in a knot in the wood where it had been before suspected, and to ease the strain upon it the maintop sail was immediately close-reefed, and the main top gallant yard and mast sent down upon deck while the carpenters began to prepare a fish for it. The weather was dark and gloomy and the wind blew fresh and squally.

March 18th. Next morning we had an indistinct view through the haze of Kauai, bearing nearly south of us about 10 or 11 leagues, and the Chatham being considerably to the northward of us, her signal was made to bear down in our wake.



SECOND VISIT



THE RETURN TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS FROM
THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA.

VANCOUVER SEARCHES FOR THE LOS MAJOS ISLANDS

1793.

January 29th. As we were now drawing near the supposed situation of these islands (Los Majos) ³⁹it was not thought prudent to run during the night with a press of sail. Both vessels therefore shortened sail on the evening of the latter day (31st), and hauled the wind on different tacks to preserve nearly their situation till daylight, when they

³⁹Los Majos, a group of islands marked on old Spanish charts as lying eastward from the Sandwich or Hawaiian group of islands.

again made sail and spread as usual a few miles from one another.

February 1st. On the first of February, the weather was clearer than we had it for several days before, and as we now reached the same meridian where Mr. Portlock fell in with the twentieth degree of north latitude in 1786, and run down nearly in that parallel to Hawaii in quest of these islands, yet that our examination for them might be more satisfactory, we kept ten or fifteen leagues to the southward of his track for some days, so as to put their existence or non-existence beyond a doubt.

After midnight, we spent the time under an easy sail till daylight, when we again spread and renewed our progress. We this day passed over the very spot where the easternmost of these islands is laid down in Capt. Cook's general chart, but saw no appearance of any land within the verge of our horizon, nor any indications of our being in the vicinity of any, though it was remarkably clear in every direction all around us, and remained so during the night, which, as the breeze was light, induced us to continue running on without shortening sail.

February 3rd. On the forenoon of the 3rd, the objects being clear, several sets of lunar observations were taken, the mean of which brought on to noon gave our longitude then 224 degs. 15 mins. East, and our latitude at the same time was 19 degs. 43 mins. North. While these lunar observation were taking, we were passing over the situation of the easternmost of the Los Majos Islands, according as they are laid down in a Spanish manuscript we had on board, which was received from Senor Quadra⁴⁰ before we left Monterey, and which was the production of the oldest pilot they have on this coast, and as he was with Sr. Quadra at Monterey, we had an opportunity of enquiring

⁴⁰Senor Don Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra, commander of the Spanish man-o'-war *Active*, who was deputed by his government to surrender Nootka to the British, represented by Capt. G. Vancouver.

of him more particularly on whose authority these islands had crept into their charts.

SPANISH PILOT SPEAKS.

He said that he knew of no authority for them, nor did he ever hear the name of any person that saw them. It was reported to him that they were first discovered by some vessel coming from China to Mexico, but this is very improbable from their situation being so far out of the usual track of vessels coming from that quarter, and it is not at all likely that anyone would persevere in so low a latitude against the prevailing direction of the trade wind.

Mr. Portlock in his search for these islands in the year 1786 was the first navigator who rendered their situation doubtful, and Mr. Colnet in the ship Prince of Wales, the year following, passed to the northward on his way to Nootka, a little to the eastward of their situation in Cook's chart, without observing the least sign of their being in the neighborhood of any land, and a few days before he passed over the situation of Roca Partida in the same chart without seeing anything of it, so that if either of these islands exist, they must be very erroneously laid down in our charts.

February 4th. During this passage when the weather was anywise favorable the people were trained to the exercise of small arms, and this day they fired several volleys, first with powder alone, and afterwards with powder and ball at a target suspended from the yard arm.

We were now sailing through the group of islands called the Los Majos according to their supposed situation without having the least sign of our being in the vicinity of any land.

February 5th. On the 5th we got to the western boundary of this cluster of islands according as they are laid down in the Spanish charts, from which it is probable they have been copied into Captain Cook's general chart, without seeing any of them or the least probability of their ex-

istence, yet to continue our search for them to a greater extent of longitude we proceeded this evening with our usual caution.

THE ZODIACAL LIGHT?

About an hour and half after sunset our attention was directed to an unusual appearance in the heavens, not unlike to what has been described as the *Aurora Australis*. It apparently consisted of whitish streams of faint haze pointing to our eastern horizon as a centre, and from thence diverging towards the zenith with a considerable space of clear sky intervening between each; some of these streams were broader than others, and those were in general fainter. They seemed to have a progressive motion to the northward even contrary to the direction of the prevailing wind, preserving nearly their relative situation and considerably obscuring the stars. They passed over with a vivid crucant motion that was very perceptible in each. After they had been seen about twenty minutes they became fainter and fainter, and soon after entirely vanished, leaving a serene sky free of any clouds for the remaining part of the night, excepting in the eastern horizon, which was covered with dark haze where the ends of these streams converged, and was obscured about ten degrees high.

Though I have frequently observed something similar to this in higher latitudes particularly in the Southern hemisphere, yet I never before saw anything like it between the tropics, nor do I recollect any author that takes notice of it.⁴¹

⁴¹During a residence on the Hawaiian Islands extending over more than a third of a century, the present editor has witnessed but twice the celestial phenomenon above described by Menzies. On both occasions he saw it spread over the *western sky* about *daybreak*. Menzies observed the peculiar fan-shaped lights towards *sunset* and filling the *eastern sky*. Outside of Menzies he has not come across a reference by any writer who had seen the zodiacal light at the Hawaiian islands. It is quite probable, however, that the zodiacal light may be frequently observed by those residents who are in the habit of scanning the skies about daybreak or at sundown.

As we were considerably past the situation of these islands on the 6th, it was not thought necessary for the vessels to spread from one another in the daytime, as it considerably retarded their progress, but kept on to the westward in company with a moderate breeze and clear weather, preserving the distance of ten or twelve leagues to the southward of Mr. Portlock's track for some days without seeing the least sign of land, by which the existence of these islands is now rendered so doubtful that we may think they may be entirely erased out of our charts. But it may be a curious subject of enquiry to examine the ancient records of Spanish voyages, if any such are preserved at Mexico, in order to ascertain the time and circumstances of the first discovery of these islands, as it is not at all unlikely but by such examination they may turn out to be the Sandwich Islands from their being placed in the same parallel of latitude, and from the uncertain mode navigators formerly had of ascertaining their longitude in distant voyages, when the errors of reckoning with the influence of currents, etc., might in a long and tedious voyage sometimes increase to a very considerable amount. For were we to settle the Sandwich Islands by our reckoning this time from California, notwithstanding the passage being performed under very favorable circumstance, we should place them at the least three degrees and a half to the eastward of their real situation. We ought not therefore to be surprized at finding much greater errors in the reckonings of former times when the passage might be more tedious and attended with uncommon disadvantages.

There are also some peculiarities in the dresses of the Sandwich Islanders, differing from most others in the Pacific Ocean, which appear to be of Spanish origin, and these are the cloaks and helmets worn by the men and the bold patterns of particolored cloth worn by the women.

February 7th. We had clear serene weather on the

7th, with very moderate winds for some days past, yet we experienced a very heavy swell from the north-west occasioned no doubt by boisterous weather in that quarter beyond the limits of the trade wind.

February 8th. But on the 8th and three succeeding days, we had strong wind chiefly from the north-east, with dark squally weather and frequent showers of rain, with which we continued our course to the westward under a press of sail, night and day, till the night of the 11th, when conceiving ourselves at no distance from the islands, we hauled our wind for a few hours to spend the time, as it was very dark and hazy.

SIGHT EAST SIDE OF HAWAII.

February 12th. Early on the morning of the 12th, we met some land birds, seemingly plovers, and about nine we saw the east end of Hawaii, bearing South 60 degs. west about six or seven leagues off. We had clear weather and a fresh breeze of wind, but the high land was obscured with dark haze that we saw nothing but the low land and craggy hillocks about the east extreme. We soon after brought to till the Chatham came up with us, and then we separated. She was ordered to proceed and examine the south side of the island, while we pursued our course along the north side, but the wind blew so fresh right on shore that we could not at first venture within two leagues of it, so that we saw none of the natives even attempting to come off to us; indeed a very heavy swell rolled in and broke in high surf on the shore, which, with the distance we were off, we supposed might in some measure deter them from coming, if they were willing.

Towards evening the wind became more moderate and we edged in nearer to the shore, but seeing no canoes offer to come to us, we hauled the wind and stood off and on for the night, during which we had very heavy showers of rain and squally weather.

February 13th. Early on the 13th we stood in again towards the land and bore up along shore within two or three miles of it. Soon after observing a single canoe putting off from the shore with three men in it, we brought to to give her time to join us, which they effected with more than usual caution, and after a good deal of persuasion one of the men ventured on board. When we asked him for hogs and vegetables, he told us to our no small mortification that there was a general taboo laid on them all over the island, by which they durst not bring any off. He said that they themselves came off to the ship by stealth, and if it was known to the king he would put them to death for transgressing the taboo. They all seemed under great anxiety, and made but a short stay, when they paddled off hastily for the shore. Whatever gave reason to this singular restriction we know not, but we had no doubt of its powerful influence to deter the natives from coming off to us, and now plainly saw the reason for their not visiting us sooner.

HAMAKUA-KOHALA COAST OF HAWAII.

Finding therefore we were not likely to get any refreshments while under way, we stood on along the shore to come to an anchor on the lee side of the island. The land we passed in the forenoon rose in a steep bank from the water side and from thence the country stretched back with an easy acclivity for about four or five miles, and was laid out into little fields, apparently well cultivated and interspersed with the habitations of the natives. Beyond this the country became steeply rugged and woody, forming mountains of great elevation.

A little after noon, we passed a very romantic part of the shore formed into ridges not unlike the roofs of houses, with their ends facing the sea in dark perpendicular cliffs of considerable height. These were intersected with deep

gulleys⁴² from which a number of beautiful cataracts emptied their foaming streams into the ocean. This part of the shore is too dreary and rugged to be much inhabited. It is not above two leagues to the eastward of the north-west point of the island. A little after we passed it we were suddenly alarmed by the man in the chains calling out that we were in seven fathoms water, which made us instantly haul off. The next cast he got no ground with the hand line, so that it may be dangerous for vessels to approach too near this part of the shore. We afterwards proceeded round the north-west point of the island, preserving a good distance from the shore and stood into

KAWAIHAE BAY.

where as soon as we got into soundings, we came to an anchor in the evening in the north side of it. Had heavy squalls and strong gusts of wind off the land,⁴³ in one of which we were drove off the bank, and were obliged to make sail again for the night.

From the north-west point of the island, the country stretches back for a considerable distance with a very gradual ascent, and is destitute of trees or bushes of any kind. But it bears every appearance of industrious cultivation by the number of small fields into which it is laid out, and if we might judge by the vast number of houses we saw along the shore, it is by far the most populous part we had yet seen of the island.⁴⁴ Yet none of the natives ventured to come off to us, though we were in smooth water and not far from the shore for a good part of the afternoon.

⁴²The romantic valleys of Waipio, Waimanu, Awini, Honokane and Pololu.

⁴³The "mumuku" wind which comes down in sudden gusts from the upland Waimea plains lying between Mauna Kea and the Kohala mountains.

⁴⁴North Kohala District. The native population and houses have now disappeared. "Ua hala, aole hoi hou mai"—"They have gone never to return."

February 14th. In the forenoon of the 14th we were standing across the Bay of Kawaihae with very light variable airs, when towards noon a canoe came to us out of the bay with four men in her, who proved to be acquaintances of Lehua, the man who went with us from this part of the island last year. As soon as they came on board they told him that his old friend Keeaumoku, thinking this might be the ship he was on board, had sent them off with a small pig for him, which was handed in, and was the only thing they had. The wind coming fair, we stood into the bay and anchored about two in the afternoon in twenty-five fathoms over a bottom of gray sand, about two miles from the shore and nearly abreast with the village of Kawaihae. Soon after, Keeaumoku himself paid us a visit and brought some pigs which he presented to Captain Vancouver. He told us that the taboo which had been laid on about ten days before, would expire on the following day, when we might expect to be abundantly supplied with refreshments. Lehua received the chief on coming on board with overflowing eyes, nor was the good old man less wanting in expressions of joy at seeing him return to his native country after his perilous voyage and long absence. Several canoes were afterwards suffered to come along side, but the women were so strictly tabooed that none of them durst yet venture to come off.

After dinner, Captain Vancouver went on shore to look for a watering place, and found a tolerable commodious one with exceeding good water within the protection of our guns, in consequence of which it was intended to land a party on that duty next morning, and also send a boat to survey and sound the bay, but the vessel swinging round in the night time from 25 fathoms water into 10 fathoms, and the load line that watched over the side being cut, convinced us of the bottom we lay over being very uneven and rocky, on which account it was determined to leave it next day. But in the morning, plenty of canoes coming along-

side with hogs and vegetables, detained us. The latter were purchased with nails and beads, but the hogs they would not at first part with but for muskets. Finding, however, these positively refused, they afterwards sold them for red cloth, giving five large hogs for a square piece of a yard and a half wide. The women were still tabooed, at least none of them durst come off in any of the canoes, but to evade this part of the restriction, they swam off to the ship in great numbers, and the sailors had the humanity and gallantry to take them in as they came along side, and in the society of the honest tars, they found an asylum of freedom more congenial to their disposition and native simplicity.

GOES ASHORE AT KAWAIHAE.

After breakfast, I accompanied Captain Vancouver who went ashore with two armed boats and a guard of marines to make his first public appearance in the village of Kawaihae. Keeaumoku, who came on board pretty early in the pinnace with us, and after landing, the marines were ordered to follow us through the village under arms. Whether it was out of respect to their own chief or Captain Vancouver I could not learn, but all the natives cowered down as we passed on through the village in this martial parade to the chief's residence, where we found his wife, mother and two sisters seated on a mat under a canopy in front of the house; and if size and corpulency are the necessary qualifications of dignity, these ladies were certainly entitled to the highest rank, for four stouter and more masculine dames could hardly be met anywhere. After making them some presents, consisting of beads, looking glasses and scissors, etc., and refreshing ourselves with cocoanut milk, they expressed a curiosity of seeing the marines go through their manual exercises, in which Captain Vancouver readily gratified them. The chief then showed us a large war

canoe he was building, and asked Captain Vancouver to give him as much English canvas as would make a sail for it, which was promised him. He also took us into a house where he showed us several muskets that were kept in very good order, and amongst them was a double-barrelled fowling piece, two swivels and a carronade. These last were to be placed on his war canoes. In the middle of the village we passed a salt water pond, banked in and surrounded with a number of little square dams into which the water was conducted from the pond to deposit its salt by evaporation, and by assiduity and attention to this national process, the natives collected from these salterns a considerable quantity of very fine salt, not only sufficient for their own consumption, but they were likewise enabled to afford an ample supply of it to the different vessels which occasionally visited these islands.

MENZIES BOTANIZES AT WAIMEA, HAWAII.

We were accompanied back to the boats by the chief and the ladies, and as he and his wife expressed a wish of going on board with Captain Vancouver, I thought I might on that account travel with greater security a little way up the country⁴⁵ to collect plants, and intimated my intention to the chief, with a request that he would order two of the natives to accompany me as guides, which he readily agreed to, and gave them strict directions to obey my commands, and provide me with victuals and drink whenever I wished to have any. In consequence of this last injunction, they kept enquiring now and then if I was hungry or thirsty.

I travelled a few miles back, attended by these two natives through the most barren, scorching country I have ever walked over, composed of scorious dregs and black porous rocks, interspersed with dreary caverns and deep

⁴⁵Towards the Waimea plains, elevation over 2,000 ft.

ravines, evidently indicating the volcanic revolution which the country at no very distant period had undergone. The herbs and grasses which the soil produced in the rainy seasons were now mostly in a shrivelled state, thinly scattered and by no means sufficient to cover the surface from the sun's powerful heat, so that I met with very few plants in flower in this excursion. A little higher up, however, than I had time to penetrate, I saw in the verge of the woods several fine plantations, and my guides took great pains to inform me that the inland country was very fertile and numerously inhabited. Indeed, I could readily believe the truth of these assertions, from the number of people I met loaded with the produce of their plantations and bringing it down to the water side to market, for the consumption was now great, not only by the ship, but by the concourse of people which curiosity brought into the vicinity of the bay.

VISITS THE HEIAU OF PUUKOHOLA.

In returning back to the waterside again, I went towards a little marae,⁴⁶ with an intention to view the inside of it, but my guides told me it was so strictly tabooed that they durst not indulge my curiosity without risking their own lives. They told me it was built about two years before in commemoration of a famous victory gained over Keoua, the last surviving issue of Kalaniopuu, who was king of the island at the time Captain Cook was killed. This unfortunate prince, whose possessions were in the south side of the island, took the opportunity of the present sovereign's absence on a warlike expedition on Maui, to rise in arms against him, in order to recover what he conceived to

⁴⁶Cook and other early visitors to the Hawaiian Islands when speaking of the native temples, term them "moraïs," their rendering of the Tahitian word "marae," a temple or sacred enclosure. The word morai is unknown in the Hawaiian language, the correct word meaning a temple being "heiau."

be his birthright, the sovereignty of the whole island. Accordingly he invaded Kamehameha's territories, but meeting with a strong opposition from Keeaumoku and other chiefs, he was worsted in battle and he and eleven of his adherents were put to death near this marae.⁴⁷ I was shown the spot on which this happened and where their bodies were interred, but their skulls are still displayed as ornamental trophies on the rail around the marae.

This marae is situated on the summit of an eminence, a little back from the beach, and appears to be a regular area of fifty or sixty yards square, faced round with a stone wall of considerable height, topped with a wooden rail on which the skulls of these unfortunate warriors are conspicuously exposed. On the inside, a high flat formed pile is reared, constructed of wicker work, and covered either with a net or some white cloth. There were also enclosed several houses in which lived at this time five kahunas or priests with their attendants to perform the ritual ceremonies of the taboo, which had been on about ten days.

When I came to the beach I engaged a double canoe to carry myself and attendants on board that I might reward their service by some little present, and they were equally solicitous to deliver their charge safe to the chief, whom we found on board with his wife. She could, it seems, evade the taboo by coming off in our boat in which she was obliged to be again landed, as she could not yet put a foot in any of their own canoes on any account without breaking through the taboo which was a transgression of the most serious consequence.

GIVES SHEEP AND GOAT TO KEEAUMOKU.

It being found that this old chief was the present sov-

⁴⁷The heiau of Puukohola, still standing (1920) but in a ruinous state. Nearer to the seaside stands the remains of an older heiau named Mallekini.

ereign's father-in-law, it was a necessary step to secure his friendship by every mark of attention on our part. For this purpose, besides other presents, a ram, two ewes and a she lamb of the California breed were given to him this afternoon, and landed at his village, and before he went on shore himself, he promised that he would accompany us next morning in the *Discovery* to Kealakekua, where it was understood the king and his family at this time resided, and as we meant to go off pretty early, the firing of a gun was settled on as a signal for his coming on board.

The goat we left with the chief last year had soon kidded twins, which were now alive and in good condition, and by the same careful attention to the sheep he now received, we have no doubt but the island will soon be stocked with these useful animals.

During our stay in this bay, we had frequent gusts of wind off the land.⁴⁸

KAIANA.

February 16th. Early in the morning of the 16th, Kai-iana, who lived near the north-west part of the island,⁴⁹ came on board with a present of hogs to Captain Vancouver, and said he was not ignorant of the resolution he had taken of not giving any ammunition or firearms, and therefore he did not expect or ask for any, but would, notwithstanding, continue to collect as many hogs for us as he could, with which he would follow us to Kealakekua, and if he received anything in return for them it was good and well, if not, he would remain satisfied, as he knew from Kualelo and others that the ship belongs to the king of Britanna (Britain), and therefore he would exert his endeavours to supply her with refreshments while we staid at the island. Such generous and disinterested behaviour at this time on

⁴⁸The "mumuku" wind.

⁴⁹At Kohala.

the part of Kaiana deserved to be encouraged by a more liberal acknowledgment than, we understood from himself, he received.

KEEAUMOKU.

A gun was fired which brought Keeaumoku and his attendants on board. When we got under way and stood for the south point of the bay, off which we met with light and baffling winds that rendered our progress slow and tedious. In the evening we saw two vessels, south-south-west of us, which induced us to stand towards them in expectation of one of them being the Chatham.

Next day, we had light baffling airs of wind and calms alternately, with a strong current that carried us to the westward about forty miles from the island, and though the weather was clear and fair, neither of the vessels we saw on the preceding evening were in sight.

Keeaumoku dined with the officers in the gun room, but could not be prevailed upon to eat pork in any shape, as it had not been consecrated in the marae⁵⁰ by the priest. The only thing he took was a fowl, and what he could not eat of it himself, he requested that it might be given to the dogs, as it was not proper that any person should eat part of it after him, in which he was indulged, particularly as we were so near the land of plenty, though at another time we might be apt to reason with him on the impropriety of this extraordinary whim.

THE CHATHAM AND JACKALL.

On the morning of the 18th, we saw the two vessels again which proved to be the Chatham and a sloop, and as the weather was nearly calm, and no likelihood of a breeze springing up soon to favor our approach, the jolly boat was lowered down and sent to the Chatham, in which Mr.

⁵⁰Marae (Tahitian), Heiau (Hawaiian), a temple. See footnote 46.

Puget came on board the *Discovery* and acquainted us that the sloop was the *Jackall*, commanded by Mr. Stewart, which we had left at Nootka, and that their examination of the south side of the island after separating from us on the 12th, they passed round the east point of the island and soon after being near the shore, they saw some of the natives, waving with their hands, which induced them to bring to, in hopes that they would come off, but finding that they showed no inclination to put off from the shore, they again made sail, steering to the south-westward along the trending of the shore, and though they were seldom above a mile from it, no canoes attempted to come off to them.

THE KA-U COAST.

Here and there they saw habitations thinly scattered, but the face of this part of the country bore in general a very barren and rugged appearance. In the evening they hauled off under an easy sail to pass the night after running about twenty miles from the east end. Next day they proceeded along the shore, preserving the distance of about a mile or two off with a very fresh N.E. wind that brought them about noon to the south point of the island, and in their whole run along the south-east side, they found the shore nearly straight and very rocky, with scarcely a place of landing for a canoe, nor any situation that would afford the least shelter from the prevailing wind. The face of the country exhibited a bleak, rugged appearance and rose with a steep ascent to form the high mountains that occupied the centre of the island. There were but few places that showed any signs of cultivation or industry, and the whole appeared very thinly inhabited. In one or two instances, they saw a solitary canoe putting off from the shore, but their rate of sailing with a fresh breeze prevented them from joining.

Having rounded the south extremity of the island, they

saw on the west side of it an open bay⁵¹ that appeared tolerably well sheltered from the prevailing trade wind, but having at this time light fluctuating winds and a very heavy swell rolling into the bay, they were unwilling to entangle themselves too near the shore to ascertain its soundings. About two or three miles off the shore they had no bottom with 80 fathoms of line. They saw a number of natives along this part of the shore, and though they had but little way through the water, none of them attempted to come off, which equally disappointed and surprised them, as they were now extremely anxious to obtain some refreshments. Nor were they joined by any in their slow progress along the western side until about noon on the 14th, when three canoes came off from Kealakekua Bay and brought them some hogs and vegetables. It was then they were informed of the general taboo which had been on for ten days and prevented the inhabitants from visiting them sooner, but that it would end the next day. Accordingly they found themselves on that day and every day thereafter, surrounded by vast numbers of canoes that supplied them abundantly and on very reasonable terms with refreshments of every kind. While they were waiting for us off Kealakekua, they were one day visited by Kamehameha, accompanied by an Englishman⁵² as an interpreter, who had been more than three years on the island. They were also visited by Kualelo.

LANDS A BULL AND COW AT KEALAKEKUA.

Though we were becalmed at this time upwards of ten leagues from the land, yet some double canoes came off to us in the forenoon from Hawaii, in one of which was sent on shore the only surviving bull (the other having died on the passage) and one of the cows to be landed at Kealakekua,

⁵¹Okoe, Hoopuloa or Hookena.

⁵²John Young.

as they were both very weakly from the little nourishment which the shrivelled grass that was cut for them at Monterey afforded, and it was thought that their only chance of living was to be landed as soon as possible. Lehua was sent with them, with particular directions to give them in charge of the king, after he had carefully disembarked them. The chief to whom the canoe belonged stipulated very tenaciously for a present and leave for himself and his wife to remain on board until we should get in with the shore, in which demands he was obliged to be satisfied before he would suffer the cattle to be put in the canoe.

In consequence of our having been favored with a more constant breeze in the night time, though still light, we found ourselves next morning much nearer the land, and were visited by canoes, in one of which Keeaumoku's wife came off and remained on board with her husband.

February 20th. On the 20th we were endeavouring to get in with the land by taking every advantage, but were greatly impeded in our progress by baffling light winds, a high swell and uncertain currents. In the forenoon a few canoes came off to us for the benefit of traffic. The natives became so fond of our red cloth, that they gave seven, eight and sometimes even ten hogs for a square piece of it, and left off entirely asking us for firearms and ammunition. It would redound more to the honor of humanity had those vessels, who had hitherto dealt with them, acted upon the same principles, by which they might have been still kept without the use of those destructive weapons that have been so industriously dispersed amongst them and which serve to stir up their minds with a desire of conquest, ruin and destruction to their fellow creatures.

The distributors of these firearms will soon find that they have acted inimical to their own interest and the interest of those whom chance or necessity may induce to visit these islands, as by this means the natives will become more daring and insolent in their behaviour, more exorbitant

ant in their demands for refreshments, and by their overpowering numbers and stratagems will become too formidable for any single vessel to encounter or venture amongst them.

KAMEHAMEHA'S SON AND HEIR APPARENT?

In one of the canoes there came a young boy of seven or eight years old,⁵³ who was introduced on board as the son and heir apparent to Kamehameha, and after receiving some presents he went on shore again in the evening well satisfied with his reception, being then within three leagues of the land, a little to the northward of Kealakekua.

The natives informed us this day that the bull had landed safe and was still alive, but that the cow had died on the passage to the shore or soon after she was landed.

February 21st. On the morning of the 21st, being well in with the land, Mr. Whidbey was sent in a boat to examine a bay which appeared abreast of us, called by the natives Kealakekua, and returned in the afternoon with a favorable account of it.

KAMEHAMEHA AND KAAHUMANU.

While the cutter was employed on this service, Kamehameha, king of Hawaii, came on board with his queen and some attendants. The queen⁵⁴ being the daughter of Keeaumoku, immediately threw herself into her father's arms, and he cordially and tenderly embraced her, while she mutely poured into his bosom the emotions of her soul in the tenderest expressions of grateful affection. After Kamehameha was sometime on board, Captain Vancouver,

⁵³Rihoriho or Liholiho, afterwards known as Kamehameha II. He and one of his wives, Kamamalu, died in London in 1824, and their bodies were brought back to Hawaii in H.M.S. "Blonde," Capt. Lord Byron. Historians gave 1797 as the date of Liholiho's birth, then who was this boy stated to be, Kamehameha's son and heir apparent?

⁵⁴Kaahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite wife. He had many.

who had previously caused a long robe of red cloth⁵⁵ to be made for him, tasseled with ribbons and bordered round with lace and particolored tape, threw it about his shoulders, and he was so highly delighted with this present that he danced and capered about the cabin for some minutes like a madman. Every time he saw himself in the mirror thus decorated renewed his phrenzy, so that it was some time before he could be brought again to any settled conversation. When he came a little to himself, the remainder of the cattle and the sheep which were brought from California to stock these islands, and which were now intended to be landed for him at Kealakekua, were shown to him, and he was much pleased with the present, but did not express himself in the same frantic manner. He asked many pertinent questions about the manner of treating them, their qualities and the advantages likely to be derived from their increase on the island. When satisfied in these particulars, he viewed every part of the ship, and frequently expressed his astonishment at the number of men we had on board, to what he was accustomed to observe on board of the trading vessels that visited the island.

We were pleased to find that this great chief's manners and countenance were now very different to what we were led to expect from the report given of him in Cook's voyage by those who visited these islands fourteen years ago.

Kamehameha is now about forty years of age, stout and well made. He walks erect, firm and graceful, with a dignity of deportment well becoming his quality and high station. His countenance, though not mild, is by no means displeasing. Its lineaments are strong and expressive and form a more perfect index of the emotions of the mind than we find among the generality of his countrymen. In our

⁵⁵Vancouver presented Kamehameha with *two* cloaks made of red woollen cloth. Names were given to these cloaks by the natives, viz., Ke-akua-lapu, the ghost god, and Ke-kuku-ohe, the bamboo plant (see Andrews' Haw. Dic., p. 265).

broken conversation with him, he possessed a quickness of comprehension that surprized us, and in his behaviour, he was open, affable, and free, which much attached us to him even in this first visit.

JOHN YOUNG AND ISAAC DAVIES.

He brought on board with him an Englishman, named John Young, who had lived with him near three years on the island. This man was a sailor on board an American snow, named the Eleanor, commanded by Mr. Medcalf, and landed at Kawaihae Bay while the snow lay off and on, to take the recreation on shore, but could not get off again. This happened on the same unfortunate day that the natives a few leagues to the southward of them captured by surprize a schooner of eighteen tons called the Fair American, belonging to the said Mr. Medcalf, murdered his son, a youth who commanded her and the rest of the crew, five in number, except one man,⁵⁶ who escaped the general massacre and still lives amongst them, through a principle of gratitude to the king, who as soon as he knew of his landing, ordered his life to be preserved, and he likewise preserved the schooner with a view to give both up to the owner when he demands them. As he was not then on that part of the island, we naturally infer that he took no part in this horrid transaction; on the contrary, much disapproved of it.

Of this shocking and grievous affair, Mr. Medcalf remained ignorant till some time after he got to China, as he did not know at the time he was here that his schooner was then at the islands, and finding that soon after John Young went on shore no canoe came off to trade with him, he set sail for China and left him on the island, where he had remained ever since March 1790. He (John Young) speaks highly of the friendly treatment received from the king and

⁵⁶Isaac Davis or Davies.

the natives, and expresses no desire of changing his situation. This man described Kaiana as a restless and dangerous person, that is continually endeavouring to stir up his countrymen to surprize and take almost every vessel that has anchored at the island since he has been left upon it; but that the king always opposes and frustrates his wicked schemes, which has brought on a coolness between them. From Kaiana's ambitious principles, he is not a little suspicious of his proving inimical to his own government.

KUALELO.

In the afternoon, Kualelo came on board, and though we had heard by some of the vessels that touched here after us, and likewise from the natives, that he had got some land and was become a chief on the island, yet we were unwilling to take notice of it, until we had the report confirmed by himself.

He now told us that soon after he landed, Kamehameha gave him a small plantation in consequence of his having visited England, and that by lately marrying a chief's daughter, he got another plantation, so that he now enjoyed both plantations, on which he said there lived at least two hundred vassals who considered him as their chief. But he was still anxious that Captain Vancouver would buy him a little more land, which would greatly add to his consequence on the island, and a double canoe, which was all he asked for, and which I thought was very reasonable, and had no doubt but Capt. Vancouver would comply with his request, especially as the king by giving him a plantation had already shown so much inclination to serve the youth. He further told us that a few things he carried on shore with him when he first landed with Kaiana, that that chief had kept them as his own.

As we had but little wind this day and a great number of canoes about us, the jolly boat was lowered down in the

water and towed astern for the purpose of trading with the natives for refreshments, and when she was in this manner filled, she was hauled alongside and emptied. In the evening as we were near the shore, all the natives except the chiefs were ordered out of the ship, even those who had been out to sea with us, among whom were a number of women from Kawaihae bay, and in order to keep clear of the current and enjoy the land breeze, we during the night kept as close to the shore as possible as we were anxious to come to anchor.

THREE THOUSAND NATIVES IN CANOES.

February 22nd. Being near the land on the morning of the 22nd of February, we stood to the southward with a light breeze for Kealakekua Bay, where we anchored in the forenoon about eleven o'clock and immediately moored. Soon after the Chatham anchored close to us. We were at this time surrounded by the greatest concourse of natives in their canoes that we ever saw collected together afloat in these islands. Upon the most moderate computation we were pretty certain their number could not be short of three thousand, besides the beaches being lined with vast crowds of them gazing from the shore. But these did not altogether belong to the villages contiguous to the bay, curiosity brought many of them on this occasion from the northward and southward of it for several leagues, a great number of them followed us in the morning into the bay.

KAMEHAMEHA PAYS A STATE VISIT AND PRESENTS FEATHER CLOAK AND HELMETS TO VANCOUVER.

A little after both vessels anchored, Kamehameha came in great state from the shore accompanied by a number of double canoes that stopped at a little distance from our stern, while the king in his canoe was paddled with great rapidity round both vessels, which occasioned no little

hurry and confusion among the canoes that surrounded us to open an avenue for him.. Numbers of them were overturned, and some of them nearly run over. He stood upright in the middle of the canoe with a fan in his hand, and was gracefully robed in a beautiful long cloak of yellow feathers, and his under dress consisted of a loose gown of printed cotton girded on with a sash which he said had been given to him by Captain Cook.⁵⁷ Having in this manner performed a large circuit round both vessels, he stopped astern of us, and arranged the canoe that came off with him on his right hand, in a line abreast, in which order he led them alongside of the *Discovery*. On his coming on board, he first presented a variety of feathered caps and helmets to Captain Vancouver.⁵⁸ Then taking him by the hand to the gangway, he told him there were ten canoes loaded with hogs for him, and desired that he would order his people to take them on board. This was done with such a princely air of dignity, that it instantaneously rivetted our admiration, as the manner of presenting and the magnitude of the present far exceeded anything of the kind we had seen before or experienced in the voyage. But this was not all. He told Captain Vancouver in the hearing of the officers, that the feather robe he had then about him must be carefully conveyed to King George of Britanee, as it was the most valuable present he could send him, being the only one of the kind at these islands and the richest robe any of the kings of Hawaii ever wore, but as it was on that account most solemnly tabooed, he would not leave it on board till the day of our sailing, when he would see it packed up himself. He gave the strictest and most solemn injunctions that it should not be put about any person's shoulders till it was delivered to King George in Britanee.

⁵⁷Vancouver says that this cotton dress was given by Capt. Cook to King Kalaniopuu, and acquired by Kamehameha from the latter.

⁵⁸Now in the British Museum.

MORE CATTLE AND SHEEP LANDED.

Kamehameha staid himself on deck till he saw the ten canoes unloaded which contained about ninety hogs, and when they were all on board, Captain Vancouver presented him with four cows, two ewes and a ram, which were all that remained of the stock we brought from Monterey for these islands. They were immediately sent on shore in the same canoes that brought off the hogs. When landed they ran up and down the country in the wildest manner to the no small dread and terror of the natives, who fled from them with the utmost speed in every direction, which was not at all surprizing, as they were the first animals of the kind they had ever seen prancing about their country in a state so lively and vigorous. For though the bull and cow which were landed in a sickly state a few days before might in some measure have lessened their curiosity, yet they received these with the loudest acclamations of joy, and we sincerely wished that they may in due time increase and multiply so as to prove useful to the natives of these islands as well as to the future navigators that may touch here for refreshments.

PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY VANCOUVER

Notwithstanding this friendly intercourse between us and the natives, the field pieces were got upon the deck and mounted upon their carriages, and about forty stand of small arms were kept loaded under a sentinel's charge on the quarter deck to ensure greater security in case of any sudden change in their disposition.

Kualelo still retained his broken English tolerably well, and he and his wife now became our daily visitors.

KAIANA'S PRESENTS DECLINED.

In the afternoon, Kaiana, agreeable to his promise, brought alongside in a large canoe, fifteen fine hogs, which

Captain Vancouver desired him to carry on shore again till they should be wanted, as the deck was already so crowded with those we had lately purchased and with the presents of the king and his father-in-law, that they could not be taken in, with which Kaiana was much hurt at his present not being likewise accepted, especially as he had brought it as far from the north-west point of the island⁵⁹ on the former pledges of Captain Vancouver. Conceiving himself but coldly received, he left the ship in a huff and carried his hogs on shore.

THE TABOO.

As there was a ritual interdiction, called the Kapu pule, to commence at sunset, the king and all the natives left us about that time. Not one remained on board at that time on either vessel, nor was there a canoe seen anywhere in the bay after the king landed on shore. We afterwards heard them making great noise in hauling their large canoes up on the beach.

February 23d. The 23rd being a Kapu pule day, not one canoe was seen afloat the whole day, nor any of the natives, except two men that swam alongside in the morning with a message they said from Kaiana, requesting a boat to be sent on shore for him, as the kapu restricted him from coming off in any of their own canoes, so it would seem he could in this manner elude the restraint, but as we wished for a little rest and quietness from their teasing noise and confusion, the Kapu-pule was as religiously observed in this respect on our part as on theirs, for none of us went on shore this day from either vessel, and we understood the kapu would continue till sunrise on the following day.

OBSERVATORY SET UP AT NAPOOPOO BEACH.

February 24th. Early on the 24th, the observatory

⁵⁹North Kohala district.

markee, and a small tent with the astronomical instruments, were sent on shore and erected close to the marae⁶⁰ on the same spot where Captain Cook's stood fourteen years before. The party consisting of a guard of six marines were under the command of Mr. Whidbey, who was to make the necessary observations for ascertaining the rates of the time-keepers which were also landed for that purpose.

In the morning the king came on board with the queen and two of his aikanes, and went on shore again in the forenoon with Captain Vancouver, Mr. Puget and myself in the pinnace, but no other canoes came alongside either of the vessels till near noon. We landed in the pinnace close under the marae where it seems the shore was tabooed from women, in consequence of which the queen⁶¹ was obliged to take a canoe and land in another place. We first went to see the encampment which was pitched in a small field adjacent to the marae, and the king particularly requested none of our people should go nearer the marae than the walls of the field which was particularly tabooed for our use. Mr. Whidbey promised that his injunctions should be strictly observed. As we passed from thence to the village, we saw the cattle screening themselves from the heat of the sun under the shade of cocoa palms. We likewise saw the bull in a shady place, but he was so weak he could not yet stand upon his legs, as they said. He could, however, eat and drink pretty well. There were some hopes of his recovering from his appearance, though not very flattering.

⁶⁰The heiau of Hikiau at Napoopoo beach, now in ruins. It was within this heiau that William Watman, an elderly marine attached to Capt. Cook's expedition, was buried on 1st February, 1779. He was the first white man, so far as known, to be buried on Hawaiian soil. "He was beloved by his fellows for his good and benevolent disposition. . . . Watman was buried on shore at the express wish of Kalaniopuu." "At the head of the grave a post was erected and a square piece of board nailed on it, with the name of the deceased, his age and death." (Lieut. J. King's M.S. Log)

⁶¹Kaahumanu.

After this, the king took us to his own house, which was pretty large, and the floor covered all over with mats, on which we sat down and refreshed ourselves with cocoanut liquor, while four marines that followed Captain Vancouver through the village as a guard were drawn in a small court before the entrance, and at the king's particular request went through their manual exercise, while he attentively eyed their various movements with great satisfaction. At the further end of the house we observed upwards of two dozen musquets, which the king said he lately procured in the way of traffic from Mr. Brown, master of the ship *Butterworth* of London, and added that they were so very bad that some of them burst on the first firing, on which account they were now afraid to fire any of them off.

In returning back again to the tents we perceived that a considerable space of the shore near the marae was tabooed for our convenience, where anything might be landed from the boats in safety, free from the teasing curiosity and pilfering disposition of the natives. It is but justice to say that the king had hitherto taken every precaution to preserve peace and good understanding between us by adopting every method that might prevent his people from giving offence. For on the day we came into the bay, he requested that none of his people should be suffered to go on board the vessels, not even the chiefs, excepting those he desired, otherwise he would not be answerable for their conduct, which I believe was in a great measure complied with.

Close to the foot of the marae, some of the natives pointed out to us the grave of a man that had been put to death about a fortnight before on account of breaking the kapu, which was simply this: The bay had been tabooed some days on account of a large shoal of fish that appeared on the coast, at which time this unfortunate man was seen going across the entrance of it in a small canoe. He was

immediately pursued, and when brought on shore, they first broke the bones of his arms and legs,⁶² and afterwards put an end to his miserable existence by stabbing his body with their pahoas.

MENZIES EXPLORES REGION ABOUT KEALAKE-KUA BAY, RETURNING VIA HONAUNAU.

As I was particularly anxious to examine the interior parts of the country in a journey up the mountains, it was this day mentioned to the king, who was no sooner made acquainted with my pursuits, than he readily consented, and as an encouragement to the undertaking, he promised that he would send particular people along with me to conduct and protect me, and to supply me during the journey with everything the country afforded. Under these circumstances, I was under no apprehensions for my own safety, and therefore told him I should be glad to set off the following morning and trusted he would make the necessary arrangements for that purpose.

JOHN SMITH, ENGLISH-HAWAIIAN CHIEF.

On shore we met another Englishman named John Smith, who had been upon the island about three months. He landed here from an American vessel, that was going to the North-west coast for furs, on account of ill-usage. He had since mostly lived with the king, who had made him a chief of the island, and gave him a portion of land to support his dignity in that capacity. When this man understood I was going a journey up the mountains, he eagerly offered to accompany me, and as he was likely to be better acquainted with the country and the inhabitants, I accepted of his offer, which the king approved of, and entrusted him with the power of providing for the party wherever we went.

⁶²This operation was called "lua."

February 25th. Next morning I left the ship pretty early accompanied by one of the gentlemen, Mr. John Stewart,⁶³ who was desirous of satisfying his curiosity in seeing the interior parts of the country. At the village of Kaawaloa we were joined by John Smith and a group of attendants loaded with necessaries for our intended excursion, such as cloth and mats to sleep on at night, live pigs, fowls and dried fish with other articles of provision sufficient for a week's consumption. As for vegetables or any other thing we should want, Smith had unlimited powers given him to supply us from any plantation we went through without even asking the owner's leave.

The forenoon was far spent in arranging and equipping the party before we left the village, and as our route lay directly back from it, over a dry barren rocky country, up a steep ascent, in the scorching heat of the day, the first part of our journey was rather fatiguing, before we gained the summit of the eminence over the bay, where we met a refreshing breeze, and had an extensive prospect of the country and villages to the southward of us. The tract which extended along shore, if we might judge from its appearance and our knowledge of that which we had already travelled over, we were ready to pronounce a dreary naked barren waste, if we except a few groves of cocoa palms here and there near the villages. But that which stretched higher up along the verge of the woods from the manner it was

⁶³John Stewart, aged 17, a native of Galloway, Scotland, rated as an A.B. on the *Discovery*, but probably performing the duties of midshipman, as the Honorable C. Stuart (16) and Hon. Thos. Pitt (afterwards the notorious Lord Camelford) (16), two aristocratic sprigs, were also rated on the *Discovery's* books as A.B.'s. It may be mentioned that Camelford turned out insubordinate and after being flogged several times and put in irons, was landed by Vancouver on Hawaii on July 7, 1794, from whence he found his way to Malacca, and thence home to England. On Vancouver's return to England, Camelford challenged his former commander to fight a duel. See Meany's "*Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound*," N.Y., 1907, p. 16, et seq.; also *Art. Dicty. of Nat. Biography*, on Thomas Pitt, second Lord Camelford.

industriously laid out in little fields, exhibited a more pleasing and fertile appearance.

BREAD-FRUIT, TARO, SWEET POTATO AND WAUKE PLANTATIONS.

On leaving this station, we soon lost sight of the vessels, and entered their bread-fruit plantations, the trees of which were a good distance apart, so as to give room to their boughs to spread out vigorously on all sides, which was not the case in the crowded groves of Tahiti, where we found them always planted on the low plains along the sea side. But here the size of the trees, the luxuriance of their crop and foliage, sufficiently show that they thrive equally well on an elevated situation. The space between these trees did not lay idle. It was chiefly planted with sweet potatoes and rows of cloth plant.⁶⁴ As we advanced beyond the bread-fruit plantations, the country became more and more fertile, being in a high state of cultivation. For several miles round us there was not a spot that would admit of it but what was with great labor and industry cleared of the loose stones and planted with esculent roots or some useful vegetables or other. In clearing the ground, the stones are heaped up in ridges between the little fields and planted on each side, either with a row of sugar cane or the sweet root of these islands (*Dracena ferrea*, Linn⁶⁵) where they afterwards continue to grow in a wild state, so that even these stony, uncultivated banks are by this means made useful to the proprietors, as well as ornamental to the fields they intersect.

The produce of these plantations, besides the above mentioned, are the cloth plant (*morus papyrifera*, Linn.), taro and sweet potatoes. The latter are here planted three or four feet apart and earthed up around their stems much

⁶⁴Wauke, *Brussonetia papyrifera*.

⁶⁵*Dracaena terminalis*, or *Cordyline terminalis*, nat. name Ti or Ki.

in the same manner as the common potatoes are treated in England. When they dig up any, we remarked that, after stripping off the potatoes, they carefully put the old plant back again in the ground for the ensuing crop. But the taro being naturally an aquatic plant, required in this dry soil a very different treatment. There were generally two or three of them planted together in a hole about nine inches below the surface of the ground. These holes were about four feet apart, and as the plants grew up, the earth is gathered round their stems in the form of a basin to retain the water, either from rain or otherwise, about their roots. The whole field is generally covered with a thick layer of hay, made from long, coarse grass or the tops of sugar cane, which continually preserves a certain degree of moisture in the soil that would otherwise be parched up by the scorching heat of the solar rays. In this way they rear up these roots to very great perfection even on a dry elevated situation.

These plantations being on a gentle declivity, we continued our course through them till we ascended near the verge of the woods, where we found two or three small huts that were inhabited. In one of these we took up our abode for the night, our distance from the vessel being about six or seven miles.

YOUNG ORANGE TREES FOUND GROWING.

In a small spot neatly railed in with reeds, before the entrance of our hut, we discovered about a dozen young orange trees growing very luxuriantly. On enquiry we found them to be part of those seedlings which were given to Kualelo when he landed last year and which he had very prudently shared among different chiefs. These had fallen to the lot of Keawe-a-heulu, the chief of Kaawaloa, in whose ground we now were, and a finer climate or a more suitable situation we are certain they could not be placed

in, and therefore trust that they will soon arrive at that perfection that their fruit may in a few years prove a valuable acquisition to the natives as well as to those vessels that may touch here for refreshments.

The land here is divided into plantations, called ili, which take their rise at the sea side and proceed up the country, preserving a certain breadth without any limitation, or as far as the owner chooses to cultivate them, and without the protection either of high walls or gates. The produce of these fields is as secure from molestation as if they were barricaded with the most formidable barriers, for the people that accompanied us durst not without obtaining our leave even touch a sugar cane though they grew everywhere on both sides of our path in abundance and as it were in a wild state. Indeed, without such salutary laws and great industry, it would be impossible for these islands to maintain such a numerous society, for it has often surprized us from viewing only the small cultivated spots about the villages near the sea side, in what manner such vast number of inhabitants subsisted; and have wherewithal to spare in such abundance to strangers who touched here for refreshments, and who of late years have been very numerous. But seeing now these upper regions so industriously cultivated and teeming with productive crops, we could no longer remain ignorant of their vast resources, and we are certain that nothing but wars, destructive wars and commotions can ever reduce them to scarcity, seeing that they thus avail themselves of Nature's bounty in the conformation of their country by extending their cultivation to different regions of the air, they secure a continued succession of crops and therefore can never be destitute of supply.

THE FINE KONA CLIMATE.

The climate in this elevated region appeared to us exceedingly mild and pleasant. A slight shower of rain that

fell towards evening helped to show that the fields had already felt the vivifying powers of spring and gave a refreshing lustre to that scene of industry and rural economy which lay before us and which terminated in a long and gentle slope to the boundless ocean. While we were thus gratifying our eyes with this vast and interesting prospect before us, the woods behind us resounded with the wild melody of numerous warblers that formed a shrill heterogeneous concert by no means displeasing to our ears.

JOHN SMITH, THE "KAPUED HAOLE."

While we were taking our repast in the evening, we observed the natives pay particular attention to John Smith, for fear, as he was a chief, he should in the least transgress their usual forms of eating and drinking from being in company with us. He was allowed to make use of nothing but what had been consecrated at the marae before we came away, and when he began his meal, besides the light we had in common, a consecrated light was kindled before him, which was carefully attended, as it must not go out while he was eating. At the same time all the natives cowered down and none of them durst get up or move from the place they sat in till he was done, and then every atom of his leavings were carefully picked up and burnt in the fire, as there was nobody present that durst make use of them. During this time, too, the women had all left us, so that while we enjoyed every liberty of eating and drinking, when, where and how we pleased, he was restricted to particular forms and rules and so narrowly watched that he could not even chew a sugar cane as we were coming up the path because it had not been particularly consecrated. This made him sometimes break through these forms in a violent passion, cursing and swearing at them and their taboo too, which always threw them into the greatest agitation, trembling with fear and horror, that I was frequently

obliged to interfere and intreat him to be more circumspect of his new chieftain dignities for fear of any disagreeable consequences.

MENZIES FORECASTS THE SUGAR INDUSTRY OF HAWAII.

Before we set out next morning, a party of the natives from Kealakekua passed our hut, who were going up into the woods with calabashes and a small cask to fetch water for our vessels, which shows that the vicinity of the bay is but badly supplied with that necessary article. One of these natives who met us the day before going down under a heavy load of calabashes full of water, showed us three small iron nails he got for his labour, with which he seemed very well satisfied, and if we consider the great distance he carried it over a rugged path in the heat of the day, it proves that this metal still holds a high value among them, and that a settlement established at these islands would in this way procure indefatigable labourers at a very easy rate. How far preferable this would be to that disgraceful mode of slavery by which we still continue to cultivate our West India Islands. In short it might be well worth the attention of Government to make the experiment and settle these islands by planters from the West Indies, men of humanity, industry and experienced abilities in the exercise of their art would here in a short time be enabled to manufacture sugar and rum from luxuriant fields of cane equal if not superior to the produce of our West India plantations. That too without slavery by merely cherishing that tractable principle of industry and labour in the inhabitants, they might be gradually led on to perform every duty belonging to a plantation with the greatest ease and cheerfulness and at very little expense, which would certainly be much more satisfactory to their employers and the world at large, than if they were ground under the galling yoke of slavery, which God forbid they ever should. They possess

ingenuity, industry and abilities in an eminent degree, and the only thing wanting is to guide these into a proper channel to render them useful to themselves and mankind in general.⁶⁶

BANANA PLANTATIONS.

After breakfast, we pursued our course onward with a fair prospect of a fine day and soon after entered the wood by a well trodden path, on both sides of which were luxuriant groves of plantains and bananas reared up with great industry in the neatest order of cultivation. These being tender vegetables, required a sheltered situation and good soil to bring them to perfection. Here they enjoyed both in a suitable climate, the soil being chiefly formed from the long and continued falls of decayed vegetables mouldering away by the process of time and the busy operations of Nature, was rendered exceedingly rich, and would we are certain at this height be capable of producing in perfection most of our English wall fruits, as well as most of the European esculent vegetables. Every step we advanced through these plantations became more and more interesting as we could not help admiring the manner in which the little fields on both sides of us were laid out to the greatest advantage and the perseverance and great attention of the natives in adapting to every vegetable they cultivate as far as lays in their power, its proper soil and natural situa-

⁶⁶In 1793, Menzies suggests the starting of sugar plantations on Hawaii. It is interesting to note that for the year ending 30th June, 1919, there was exported from the Hawaiian group sugar valued at \$75,511,738. In addition, pineapples worth \$12,005,668; coffee, \$925,104; bananas, \$89,118; rice, \$168,048; hides, \$338,695; honey, \$316,299; wool, \$96,842; tobacco, \$82,647; musical instruments (ukuleles), \$14,648. These, with some miscellaneous products, brought the total value of exports from Hawaii for the year ending June 30, 1919, to \$91,006,254. The imports for the same period amounted to \$43,572,794, or a grand total for exports and imports of \$134,579,048. It is said that Hawaii exports more goods per head of the population than any other country in the world. Population in 1919 estimated at 263,000.

tion by which their fields in general are productive of good crops that far exceed in point of perfection the produce of any civilized country within the tropics.

CAMPS FOR THE NIGHT.

Having advanced beyond these plantations, we found that the woods, though apparently thinned of the larger trees by the inhabitants, were yet so thick and crowded with long fern and brushwood as to be almost impenetrable except by the path we entered, which still continued good, and which we pursued, passing two small villages which were inhabited, consisting each of a few small temporary huts. We took up our quarters at a third village, a little beyond them, where on our arrival, a small hut was cleared. It was, as it were, instantaneously renovated with fresh thatch of ferns and plantain leaves, and new floored with long grass, on which a clean mat was spread. Here we found ourselves very comfortably sheltered, about twelve miles from the bay. Some showers of rain that fell towards the evening sensibly cooled the air, and left a dampness in the woods with which we were now closely surrounded. This made it a very necessary precaution to keep up a constant fire before our hut to prevent its baneful effects during the night time.

Our ascent this day was considerably retarded by my botanical researches on both sides of the path when any favorable spot occurred where the woods were penetrable. The rainy appearance of the afternoon, too, induced us in some measure to take up our quarters early, as our guides informed us that we could not get any place of good shelter beyond our present situation.

BOTANIZES, BUT FLOWERS NOT IN BLOOM.

Many of the numerous ferns which composed the denser parts of the wood were known to me and are common to other tropical countries, but most of the trees and shrubs

that made up this vast forest were from their appearance entirely new to me, and many of them, I believe, peculiar to these islands. I therefore diligently searched for their flowers and their fruits in order to be able from thence either to ascertain or describe them, but few of them being at this time in bloom, my researches were in a great measure fruitless, on which account I could not help considering my situation as the most vexatious and tantalizing that a scrutinizing botanist could ever be placed in, surrounded on all sides by new and rare objects and yet destitute of the means of obtaining a knowledge of them, by not being able to visit them at different times of the year; but such is the situation in which a transitory visitor must often be placed with respect to botanical pursuits.

FELLING TREES FOR CANOES AND SNARING BIRDS FOR FEATHERS.

The villages we passed in the woods I said were temporary, as the occupiers, consisting of a few families, had come up here only for a time to pursue various occupations. The men were differently engaged. Some in felling of large timber for various purposes; others in hollowing out and forming canoes and planks in the rough, which, after laying some time in the sun to season, were dragged down in that state to the sea side to be finished by their canoe builders, who are distinct persons from those who thus form them in the rough. A third set seemed to have no other occupation than that of catching small birds for the sake of their feathers, especially those of a red, yellow or black colour. These feathers are in great estimation. It is with them that a great portion of the rents are annually paid to the chiefs by the lower class of people, who thus employ themselves by catching the birds with bird-lime.⁶⁷ They do this by

⁶⁷The Hawaiian bird lime (pilali) was usually made from the gum obtained from the bread fruit tree, or from a species of *clermontia*.

spreading a little of it here and there on the boughs, and placing two or three red berries near it which the birds are very fond of. As they perch to eat them, they are entangled with the bird-lime, but the natives are very cautious of not exterminating the birds by killing all that are in this manner caught. Many of them after being stripped of their most valuable feathers are again set at liberty and run the chance of being fleeced in the same way next year.

WOMEN BUSY MAKING KAPA.

The women were no less assiduously employed in collecting and manufacturing the bark of a shrubby species of nettle⁶⁸ which grew wild in the woods, for making a kind of coarse russet cloth, and which they prepared and dyed as follows: The inner bark being separated from the long twigs, the exterior rind was made up into small bundles and a certain quantity of a particular kind of fern, a species of *Adiantum*, mixed with it. Both were wrapped up together in the leaves of plantains or the *dracaena ferrea*, Linn. A number of these bundles being in this manner got ready, an oven is made by digging a hole in the ground where they are put, intermixed with hot stones and covered up with green leaves and earth in the same manner as they dress or bake their victuals. By this heating or sweating process, the fern imparts a reddish brown colour to the bark, which is afterwards beat out into cloth.

RE-COMMENCES ASCENT OF MOUNTAIN.

Feb. 27th. After breakfast on the 27th, we continued our journey up the mountain, and as we advanced, we found the path become more and more rugged, with numerous dead trees lying athwart it and in every direction, which made our progress slow and tedious. The wood

⁶⁸Mamake, *pipturus albidus*.

continued close and impervious on every side, excepting by little tracks here and there, where cut-down trees or canoes had been dragged into the path to take them down to the sea side. The largest trees which composed this vast forest I now found to be a new species of mimosa,⁶⁹ with certain leaves somewhat similar to those of New Holland. Its wood is hard and close grained, and takes a very fine polish as may be seen by their canoes, of which they are always made. It is perhaps the largest tree that has yet been discovered of the genus. I measured two of them near our path, one of which was seventeen feet and the other about eighteen feet in circumference, with straight trunks forty or fifty feet high, and strong, bold spreading branches. As we advanced, the wood was more crowded with these trees than lower down, where both sides of the path had been thinned of them by the inhabitants. I found here a species of *Rumex* that frequently climbed up these trees to at least forty feet high, whose pendulous branches with large leaves and bunchy flowers were very ornamental. I named it *Rumex giganteum*,⁷⁰ and was happy on my return to England to find that Mr. Aiton had succeeded in rearing fine plants of it at Kew from the seeds I sent home for his Majesty's garden.

After descending with great fatigue four or five miles further, we came to the end of the path beyond which it was impossible to penetrate from the density of the forest which was everywhere closely filled up with underwood and luxuriant ferns. We therefore erected some huts and encamped here for the night, and while the operations for this purpose were going forward, I employed my time in botanical researches on both sides of the path, sending the natives up the trees and on into the wood as far as they could penetrate for every kind of flower and seed they could collect.

⁶⁹Koa, *acacia koa*. Here first mentioned by any botanist.

⁷⁰*Rumex giganteus*, Aiton; native name, Pawale, or Uhaohako.

We found near the head of the path a spot clear of large trees but covered with a great variety of low shrubs, among which was a new species of *Vaccinium*⁷¹ with red berries, which on comparing we found to be those used lower down by the bird catchers. Though this spot was not very extensive it afforded us the most interesting of our collection of plants in this excursion. We met with a new species of Raspberry⁷² which was pretty common at this height of the mountains. We estimated our distance now to be about sixteen miles from the bay on a gradual slope towards Mauna Loa, and though we here climbed up some high trees to look around us, we could see nothing like that described in Cook's voyage of alternate woods and clear spaces on this side of the mountain. There was nothing within the verge of our sight but one vast and continued forest.

FOREST SHRINES.

So bigoted are these people to their religion that here and there on the sides of the path they have little maraes or spots consecrated to their deity, which none of them ever pass without leaving something, let it be ever so trifling, to obtain his good will, and they were highly delighted indeed when we followed their example in throwing a nail, a few beads or a piece of tapa before their deity, which the women were not allowed to pass without uncovering their breast and shoulders.

During the night time we found it very necessary to keep a large fire burning before our huts, as we felt the cold much more piercing than on the preceding evening, though not to that extent we expected it from the report of

⁷¹*Vaccinium reticulatum*, Smith, vel. *V. Macraenum* Klotzsch; nat. name, Ohelo. Here first mentioned by a botanist.

⁷²*Rubus Macraei*, Gray, vel. *R. Hawaiiensis*, Gaud. First mention of the Hawaiian raspberry, native name, Akala.

those who ascended this side of the mountain in Captain Cook's time, for before sunrise in the morning, which is generally the coldest time, the thermometer was only at 52 deg.

February 28th. After taking some refreshment on the morning of the 28th, we set out on our return home by the same path we had ascended till we came nearly out of the wood, and then we struck off by a path that went a little more to the southward of our former route, through plantations in the highest state of cultivation. Every field bore the marks of indefatigable labour, perseverance and industry, which were now amply repaying by productive crops. But as we came down towards the sea side, we walked over the most barren, rocky country that can possibly be conceived, composed of nothing but rugged cavernous lava, full of chinks and fissures that made it both dangerous and difficult to travel over.

HONAUNAU.

We arrived in the afternoon at a village by the seaside called Honaunau, about two leagues to the southward of Kealakekua Bay. As we approached it, the natives came out in great crowds to meet us. The young women expressing their joy in singing and dancing, from every little eminence, to entertain us, while the men received us with a clamorous welcome and an officiousness to serve us that would have been troublesome and teasing had they not been kept in good order by John Smith and the natives who accompanied us, who exercised their authority by clearing an avenue before us wherever we went. They took us to a large house which was tabooed for the king, with a number of smaller houses contiguous to it for sleeping in and for his attendants when he comes to the village. We were told that he has a set of houses kept for him in the same way in every village he is likely to stop at round the island, which, when he once occupies or eats in, cannot afterwards be used by any other.

MENZIES GETS LOMILOMIED.

Here clean mats were spread for us to stretch ourselves out after the fatigue of our long journey in the heat of the day, while a number of the natives placed themselves round us to lomi and pinch our limbs, an operation which we found on these occasions very lulling and pleasing when gently performed. Cocoa nuts, plantains and every kind of refreshment which the country afforded were got ready and supplied to us in abundance, and in justice to the friendly and hospitable disposition of the natives, we must observe that during this excursion our wants were anticipated and provided for with the utmost alertness the moment they were known. They took care of everything we had, and behaved towards us with a scrupulous honesty that we could not help admiring. Every man of our followers had his post of trust allotted to him when we set out on our journey, and in no instance did any of them betray the confidence reposed in them, but performed their duty with fidelity and care.

In the evening a double canoe arrived from Kealakekua with several empty casks in her which the chief of the village had undertaken to fill with good water for the Discovery, and at dawn of next morning we heard a crier go through the village summoning all the natives to set out for the mountains to fetch water to fulfill his contract, and in a large marae⁷³ close to us we now and then heard the hollow sounding drums of the priests who were up in the dead hour of the night performing their religious rites.

RETURN BY CANOE TO KEALAKEKUA.

March 1st. As the country along shore was so dreary

⁷³Attached to the heiau or temple of Honaunau was a sacred enclosure "puuhonua," or city of refuge, where women, children, and fugitives from battle sought safety. This Puuhonua has recently been partially restored, and now forms one of the national monuments of Hawaii.

and barren with peaked rocks of lava, we engaged a large double canoe to carry us to Kealakekua, where we arrived on board the *Discovery* on the forenoon of the 1st of March and found that the main mast which the carpenters began to fish before we went away, was now finished, the rigging overhauled and the ship nearly watered, but the sails were still unbent.

The vessels were daily surrounded by a great concourse of the natives in canoes, and a great many of both sexes who had not the means of coming off in any other way, came swimming alongside and continued gambolling in the water most of the day, but as none but the king and a few of the principal chiefs were suffered on board in the day time, the duty was carried on with much facility and no interruption had hitherto taken place of the most perfect harmony and good understanding which the king on all occasions showed a ready disposition to cultivate and preserve. One day he detected a woman on shore who had stolen an axe and some other trifling articles from the *Chat-ham*. He immediately had her confined and the things sent on board almost as soon as they were missed, with a message to know from the commander what punishment should be inflicted on her. We also understood that he ordered some of his own canoes to paddle round the vessels every night to guard and protect them from any of the malpractices of the natives.

KAMEHAMEHA ACTS AS SHIPS' PURVEYOR.

Hogs and every kind of vegetable the island afforded were abundantly supplied as they were wanted by mentioning to Kamehameha the evening before what quantity should be brought, for he had taken in a great measure upon himself the supplying of both vessels, declaring that as they belonged to King George they must not in his dominions traffic for refreshments like other vessels, but be supplied during their stay with whatever they stood in need of in the

most liberal way. When he found that we were but scantily supplied with water at first, on account of its great distance up the mountains, he ordered each of the chiefs that lived in the vicinity of the bay, to take on shore so many empty casks, and get them filled, which soon completed us with that article, after which a supply for our immediate consumption was daily brought off in large calabashes and purchased for small nails, as was also firewood in abundance.

VANCOUVER AND KAMEHAMEHA VISIT THE SPOT WHERE CAPT. COOK FELL.

March 3rd. On the 3rd of March, Captain Vancouver and some of the officers went on shore in two boats to view the spot where Captain Cook was killed at the village of Kaawaloa. Kamehameha and his queen⁷⁴ went with the captain in the pinnace and the two Niihau women accompanied a party of the officers in the other boat. As these women were still in somewhat of an English dress, and this being their first landing in Hawaii, their appearance and the attention shown them, excited a mixture of jealousy⁷⁵ and curiosity that brought a great number of natives about them to hear them relate what they had seen and the circumstances attending their long and perilous voyage.

On landing, the chief of the district, an elderly man named Keawe-a-heulu, came down to the beach to receive us, and with a dejected air of condolence, he pointed out to us the fatal spot on which Captain Cook lost his life, and described with minuteness every circumstance attending

⁷⁴Kaahumanu, one of Kamehameha's favorite wives. Keopuolani and Kalukua were the names of two other wives of Kamehameha. Keopuolani was mother of Liholiho, known also as Kamehameha II. After the death of Kamehameha I, Keopuolani married the high chief, Hoapili.

⁷⁵It is wonderful how the two Niihau women, clad in imitation English dresses made by the sailmakers of Vancouver's vessels, excited the jealousy of the semi-naked belles of Kaawaloa. If the latter only knew it, their own beautifully patterned tapas were much more artistic than the clumsy dresses made of cheap cotton stuff or sailcloth.

that unfortunate and ever to be lamented event, in a manner that did great credit to his feelings, and pervaded the whole circle present with a gloomy aspect of mournful condolence. No people could show more regret in bewailing the death of our illustrious navigator than the natives did on this occasion, when the rash and precipitant circumstances of the whole transaction was thus brought fresh to their memory.

SLAYER OF CAPTAIN COOK PRESENT.

To show the confidence they placed in the reconciliation and promises of the successor of Captain Cook that all revenge and animosity on account of this horrid event should cease and be buried in oblivion, the very man who from cruel rashness stabbed him was now present, and pointed out to us amongst the multitude. His life was probably preserved from the lenient measures that were afterwards pursued in settling this cruel and unpleasant quarrel, to conciliate the friendship and affections of the natives. As no mark of honor or dignity was conferred on him in consequence of this barbarous deed, it is evident that his conduct was not wholly approved of, for he did not appear to rank at this time higher in the community than a common warrior.

With our minds filled with the most poignant grief at the great and irreparable loss sustained in this unfortunate transaction we retired from the fatal spot and took a short walk into a place enclosed with a stone wall which appeared to have been formerly a place of worship, though now seemingly now in disuse. In one part of it we saw a number of their carved images of wood still standing, representing their atuas or gods, to each of which they gave a separate name and attributed separate powers. After a short stay, we embarked again in our boats and crossed the bay to Kualelo's habitation, who met us on the beach and received us with a hearty welcome. While he was conducting us up

to his house, the crowd through curiosity pressed much upon us, but he instantly exercised his chieftain authority and soon dispersed them.

THE PEOPLE CROUCH DOWN AS KAMEHAMEHA'S MALO IS CARRIED PAST THEM.

In the middle of this crowd a man passed us with a piece of cloth in his hand to which all the people cowered down as he went along. This, Kualelo told us, was a malo for the king, who remained in the pinnacle, and to which the people were obliged to pay this particular mark of respect as it passed, on account of its being particularly consecrated or tabooed.

We found that Kualelo through his own conduct in recommending himself on his first landing to the notice of the king and chiefs, was here comfortably settled in a small plantation, with a number of houses inhabited by his vassals or dependants. Of the refreshments which Kualelo pressed upon us, we regaled ourselves with some water melons, plantains and cocoanut liquor, after which we left his plantation and walked towards the observatory, accompanied by a large crowd of the natives, whom he kept in very good order. The boats in which the king and queen went in preference to a walk, followed us close along the shore. After a short stay at the tents, we returned on board to dinner.

A SHAM BATTLE.

In the afternoon of the next day, the king entertained us on shore with a sham battle, by drawing up his warriors on a fine sandy beach at the village of Kiloa, in two parties of about thirty or forty on each side, one of which was supposed to be Kahekili's warriors from Maui just landed from their canoes to invade Kamehameha's territories. They first fought with blunt spears which they darted from their hands at one another with amazing force and dexterity,

making them pass through the air with a whirring noise and quivering motion, yet the party aimed at on either side would often catch hold of them in their rapid course and instantly turn their points with equal force and velocity on those who hove them. After the action commenced no regular rank was preserved on either side, each warrior ran back to pick up the spear that passed him, and advanced as near to the opposite party to take his aim as he could with safety, but during the conflict they lost and gained ground on both sides.

KAMEHAMEHA TAKES PART IN THE SHAM FIGHT.

The king was averse to our seeing this sham fight till the parties were a little heated, as he said they would then fight with more spirit and animation. After he stood along side of us for some time, looking on and giving directions, finding what were supposed to be his party giving ground to the others very fast, he darted in to the middle of them without any weapon whatever, and placing himself at their head, a shower of spears was instantly aimed at him from the opposite side. He caught hold of the first that came near him in its course and putting himself in a position of defense, with his eyes fixed on the spears coming towards him, and by the spear in his hand he parried every one of them off with the greatest coolness and intrepidity, and watching at the same time with a vigilant eye every favorable opportunity of getting a good aim, when he would instantly dart back the spear in his hand and get hold of the next that was hove at him. In this manner they continued the contest on both sides even with such apparent virulence that many of them received considerable hurts and bruises. At last they had resort to the pololus, which are spears of fifteen or eighteen feet long, pointed like daggers. These we were told were always their last resource in battle. They do not heave them like the other spears but charge with

them in a close bodied phalanx to close action, and notwithstanding their unwieldy appearance, they manage them with great dexterity, by resting them on the forearms of one hand to guide their direction, while the other hand pushes them on or gathers them in with great ease and alertness.

They were not long engaged with these weapons when one of the warriors fell, and then a violent scramble ensued between the two parties for his body, which terminated the contest, as those who get the dead body were allowed to be victorious by being thus enabled to carry off the first sacrifice to the marae.

FIREWORKS DISPLAY.

After it was sufficiently dark, a variety of fireworks were discharged at the tents, and a number of sky and water rockets were let off, which the natives beheld with the utmost astonishment and admiration and expressed their approbation by the loudest acclamations of joy from every part round the bay.

VANCOUVER TRYs TO GET KAMEHAMEHA TO PLACE HIMSELF UNDER THE PROTEC- TION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

As a great number of chiefs and natives were collected to see these entertainments, Captain Vancouver was very urgent with Kamehameha to take this opportunity of declaring himself and his subjects, together with the whole island, under the dominion of the king of Great Britain, but this he positively declined doing unless Captain Vancouver would promise to leave one of the vessels behind at the island to assist in defending him and his people from the inroads of their enemies, which was certainly a very strong and reasonable argument.

March 5th. On the 5th, a vast concourse of people assembled in the bay and amongst them I discovered a brother of Kaiana's, a chief of Kauai, named Kamakeha,

with whom I was formerly acquainted. He told me he was brought from Kauai in the *Iphigenia* by Mr. Douglass at the time Kaiana settled on this island, and lived here ever since. After making him some little presents and renewing our former friendship, he was handing me in as a present from his canoe a long feathered cloak, which the king observing, immediately tabooed it, thinking perhaps that it would lessen the value of his own presents of the same kind to Capt. Vancouver.

MENZIES DISCUSSES THE HAWAIIAN CALENDAR WITH THE CHIEF PRIEST.

In the afternoon I went on shore and met with the chief priest of the marae at the tents, a very communicative and intelligent man, from whom I obtained some information relative to the manner they follow in computing and regulating their time by Kapu pules, which are similar to our Sundays, though not so regular with respect to the number of days intervening between each. Sometimes ten days intervene and at other times only three, but they are regular as to the days on which they happen in each moon, by the age of which they are always regulated by the priests. Their next division is into moons, to each day of which they give a separate name, as they also do to every moon in the year, at the end of which they keep their makahiki, which are particular ceremonies, festivals and games that occupy ten days or a fortnight, during which there is a general taboo over the whole island to prevent at that time any communication with strangers. These festivals ended about the time we came to the island and was the occasion of the general taboo for which we could not then account, but I shall take notice of this more particularly hereafter.

The tents and observatory were struck and the natives assisted in packing them up and getting everything belonging to them into the boats with a degree of attention and honesty that reflected much credit on their general char-

acter and behaviour. Indeed, during the whole time our party was on shore, the natives conducted themselves towards them with the greatest order and regularity. The tents being strictly tabooed, there was no necessity for a guard. No one ventured to come near them, excepting those allowed, which were the king and two or three of the principal chiefs, together with two or three of inferior rank who waited as attendants constantly, so that the business on shore was carried on with the utmost quietness. Nor was the intercourse with the vessels less so, for though they were surrounded daily by a great concourse of people, none of them attempted to quit their canoes or go on board either of the vessels without leave. Indeed few were admitted, except the principal chiefs, so that we had no theft or disturbance committed the whole time we lay here.

March 6th. The 6th was a Kapu-pule day, and as we were so near departing, a number of canoes were permitted to visit us through some act of grace, but not a woman was seen in any one of them the whole day, nor did the king come near us. Kualelo attended on board the Discovery most of the day in expectation of some considerable present from Captain Vancouver before his departure, agreeable to his former promise that he should see him settled when he returned to these islands. But all he received on this occasion was half a dozen axes and some other trinkets of less value.

We had a fresh breeze of wind from the N.W. and a heavier surf rolling into the bay than we before experienced during our stay, but both subsided in the evening.

A YOUNGER BROTHER OF KAMEHAMEHA VISITS THE DISCOVERY.

All next day we had fine weather and smooth water in the bay, and the taboo being over, Kamehameha expecting we were going away, came off from the village of Kiloa early in the morning and passed under the stern of both

vessels in a large canoe completely rigged with English colours, sails and pendant which were given him by Captain Vancouver, and with which he was mightily pleased. After stretching over to the opposite shore, he returned to the Discovery, where he and his queen remained the whole day, with some other chiefs, among whom was a younger brother of his, who had not visited us before.

I this day gave to the Englishmen a variety of garden seeds for them to rear on the islands, among which were some stone fruits I had from Mr. Broughton before he left Monterey, and which appeared to be in good condition. If they should succeed, they will prove a valuable acquisition to the island. In the evening everything was got ready for sailing with the land breeze in next morning.

JOHN YOUNG AND ISAAC DAVIES.

Two of these Englishmen, John Young and Isaac Davies,⁷⁶ who had been about three years on the island as already mentioned, made themselves extremely useful to us during the time we stayed, as they understood the manners and customs of the inhabitants and their language. One of them lived on each vessel, especially in the daytime, and transacted all business of intercourse and traffic between us and the natives, with such candour and fairness as entitled them to our approbation and regard and reflected much credit on their conduct. They had no wish to leave the island as they said they expected their commander, Mr. Medcalf, to touch this way again, and were desirous of joining him in preference to any other. The king was also anxious to detain them till Mr. Medcalf should come, that they might inform him that he had no previous knowledge or any hand in the unfortunate affair of taking the schooner, which they both declared was actually the

⁷⁶Menzies spells this man's name Davies. It is usually written Davis.

case. For John Young assured us that he was ashore at Kealakekua with the king at the time he received the intelligence of it, and that he appeared much agitated and truly grieved for the barbarous and cruel transaction for which he so much dreaded Mr. Medcalf's vengeance, that he instantly ordered all the shore to be tabooed, and not a single canoe suffered to go to his vessel, by which means John Young was detained on the island. Mr. Medcalf finding the intercourse with the shore entirely cut off, sailed without being able to discover the cause of it, or having the least idea of his schooner being at the islands, for she had been captured at Nootka at the same time Mr. Meares's vessels were and carried to St. Blas by Dr. Joseph Martinez, and came here in hopes of meeting the Eleanor.

KAMEEIAMOKU.

The business of taking this schooner was accomplished at noon day by some double canoes under the direction of a treacherous chief named Kameeiamoku, who under the disguise of a friendship got on board with his diabolical party, and at a signal given seized the unfortunate crew and threw them overboard, while those in the canoes knocked them with clubs and paddles till they put an end to their existence, except Isaac Davies, who from his being a very strong and stout man, struggled so hard that he had the good fortune of reaching the shore alive after receiving many wounds and bruises, and his life was afterwards spared at the instigation of the king.

The schooner was at this time lying in a small cove⁷⁷ about two leagues to the northward of Kealakekua, and roofed over with thatch to preserve her, in order to be delivered to Mr. Medcalf when he came to the island.

⁷⁷Keauhou, North Kona. The chief Kameeiamoku who headed the attack against the Fair American, and his brother Kamanawa, were the kahus or guardians of Kamehameha during his childhood and early years. They were half brothers of Kahekili, king of Maui.

In the district of Hilo, on the north-east side of the island, where the king mostly resides, we had information from him and other natives here, that there is in that part of the island a small bay nearly formed into a harbour⁷⁸ by a reef of rocks jutting from the weather point, within which they affirmed there is a commodious and safe anchorage of a moderate depth. From all accounts, the country round it is the most fertile part of the island, from which circumstance the eligibility of this harbour becomes an object worthy of examining. The Englishmen were therefore requested to gain every information they could concerning it before our next visit to these islands.

THE VESSELS LEAVE KEALAKEKUA BAY.

On the 8th of March, 1793, we left Kealakekua Bay early in the morning and stood to the northward close along shore, which gave us an opportunity of seeing that this part of the island as far as the point of Kawaihae Bay is in a high state of cultivation, and rises from the water's edge with an easy ascent to the woods, which occupy the middle region of the sides of the mountains. We were accompanied by a numerous group of canoes which were every moment increasing from the shore as we went along. The king and queen were so sorry at parting with us from the uninterrupted friendly intercourse which continued during our stay, that they both came on board the *Discovery* pretty early, and accompanied along shore with the new rigged canoe towing astern till about eleven in the forenoon when they took leave of us in the most friendly and becoming manner, and appeared much affected at the separation. On leaving us they went on board the *Chatham* to take leave of the officers there, after which they went on shore. We understood that Kamehameha was to be put

⁷⁸Hilo or Waiakea Bay, sometimes styled Byron's Bay, after Lord Byron, commander of H.M.S. *Blonde*, who was the first to survey and chart it. A breakwater has been built there by the U.S. government.

under a taboo in the evening which was to continue for ten days, in consequence of his having eaten with us, who profaned ourselves by eating with women. Off the south point of Kawaihae Bay we met several fishing canoes with a variety of fish in them, which was purchased for small trinkets.

The land about this point, though low, appeared so barren and rugged with volcanic dregs and fragments of black lava, as to be incapable of improvement, in consequence of which the inhabitants were obliged to have recourse to fishing for their sustenance. After passing this point we had but few canoes about us, the great mass of them having gone ashore with the king.

KUALELO'S WEALTH EXCITES JEALOUSY OF CHIEFS.

Kualelo was among the last of our Kealakekua friends who took leave of us. I was very happy to learn from himself that he was more successful in obtaining from Mr. Puget, commander of the Chatham, the object of his wishes than he was from Captain Vancouver. Mr. Puget in the most liberal manner presented him with two canoes of his own choosing, which he could with pleasure convert into a double canoe, besides such other articles of utility and ornament as he thought would contribute to his comfort and happiness and tend to give him consequence among the other chiefs of the island. Elated with these riches gone before him, Kualelo was approaching the shore when the people informed him that the chiefs had seized upon all his effects, and that they requested leave of Kamehameha to kill him. Dreading the consequence of this vengeance, he immediately returned on board, and with inconsolable anguish pictured in his countenance, told us the story, which excited our grief and indignation at the perpetration of such acts of injustice and cruelty, especially as he added, that the whole of this treatment had arisen from jealousy of the

favours we had shown to him in preference to most of the other chiefs, in admitting him, as was natural after so long an acquaintance, to come and go on board either of the vessels as he pleased, by which he mostly lived with us. We certainly little expected that while we were conferring these little acts of attention on our friend, that we were at the same time exposing him to the envy and revenge of his countrymen, who could not be admitted to the same privileges from the principle following, in this respect of giving as little umbrage as possible by seldom admitting any man on board except the king and a few of the principal chiefs. We were therefore much concerned for the fate and disagreeable situation of our friend, especially as the Englishmen,⁷⁹ who had been long on the island, assured us that such inhuman treatment was not unusual amongst these natives, when any of the lower rank became wealthy without power or any connection among the chiefs. He was therefore suffered to remain on board till some reconciliation in his favor should be obtained. In the afternoon, with a moderate breeze we stood into the Bay of Kawaihae in expectation of a considerable supply of refreshments from Keeaumoku, who had left Kealahou some days before to collect hogs and vegetables for us. About eight in the evening both vessels had got pretty well into the centre of the bay, and with baffling light wind plyed off and on to spend the night under little sail.

Next day we learned that the Chatham had lost sight of us in the night (it being so very dark) and got unexpectedly so near to the northern shore of the bay, which is very rocky, that she was obliged to drop anchor in seven fathoms to prevent her being drove on shore by a rolling surf. There being little or no wind, and they not a half cable's length from the shore, they immediately carried out a kedge anchor in a boat about two hawser's length, and dropped it in

⁷⁹John Young and Isaac Davies or Davis.

25 fathoms, and after weighing the other anchor, they warped the vessel into a place of safety, and having got a little breeze, made sail to join us.

In the forenoon, Keeaumoku and his wife Namahana came on board, but the supply of refreshments this chief procured for us were not so considerable as expected. This disappointment was, however, less felt, as Kamehameha, ever punctual to his promises towards us, had sent after us his last present which we received about noon. It consisted of 40 hogs for the *Discovery* and 20 for the *Chatham*, but he had taken care to keep us so fully stocked at Kealakekua, that neither of us could now take in above half of this liberal present. The Englishmen, too, who had accompanied us thither on purpose to make presents of hogs and vegetables to both commanders from their plantations, which lay near this part of the island, contributed considerably to our supplies, and after taking a friendly leave of us they all went on shore in the afternoon, and as we had no opportunity of seeing Kamehameha, Kualelo went on shore at the same time under the protection of Keeaumoku, who faithfully promised that he would take care and see him reinstated in all his effects, and from his power on the island, we had no doubt of his abilities, and trusted to his punctual performance of his promise.

PLENTY HOGS RECEIVED.

Kaiana and his wife were also on board in the afternoon, and brought some hogs, but this chief was so unfortunate as not to be a favorite of the commander's. Consequently his present was not accepted on this occasion more than formerly. Indeed, we were at this time so fully stocked that we are certain upwards of a hundred hogs returned again to the shore. They came off so plenty that in one double canoe we counted upwards of forty undisposed of.

SAILS PAST MOLOKINI AND KAHOO LAWE.

March 10th. After the canoes all left us, we turned our head to the northward and light airs till we passed the north-west point of the island, when we were favored with a fresh breeze that brought us in with the east end of Maui early in the morning of the 10th, when we bore away along the southern shore with a steady breeze till we came to Molokini and then it became light and fluctuating in its direction by the high land of Maui intercepting the regular trade wind. We had some canoes off from the latter island, but they brought no refreshments. Indeed, this part of the island appeared to be very barren and thinly inhabited. We had nothing but calm and variable gusts and flaws of wind all the afternoon, which we spent in passing between Molokini and Kahoolawe. Soon after dark we had a light land breeze from Maui and stood into the large bay⁸⁰ on the south side of it, where we anchored for the night.

ANCHORS AT MAALAEA BAY, THEN CONTINUES
ON TO LAHAINA.

Having little or no wind, we remained anchored till about noon on the 11th when a fresh breeze set in over the low land of the isthmus, with which we immediately weighed and stood for the south-west part of Maui. But as soon as we passed the bay, the high mountains on the western part of the island again intercepted the regular trade and left us with nothing but light and baffling wind till about sunset when we were favoured with a light breeze off the island, and stood on till we came opposite to a village called Lahaina, near the west end of the island, and at a late hour anchored over a bottom of coarse sand in a moderate depth of water about a mile from the shore, which was a low, sandy beach.

⁸⁰Maalaea Bay.



CAPTAIN JOHN MEARES.
1756-1809.



KAIANA.

Engraved from painting made in Canton by Chinese artist.



CAPTAIN NATHANIEL PORTLOCK.

1748-1817...



L. Choris, del. 1817.

QUEEN KAAHUMANU.



L. Choris, del. 1817.

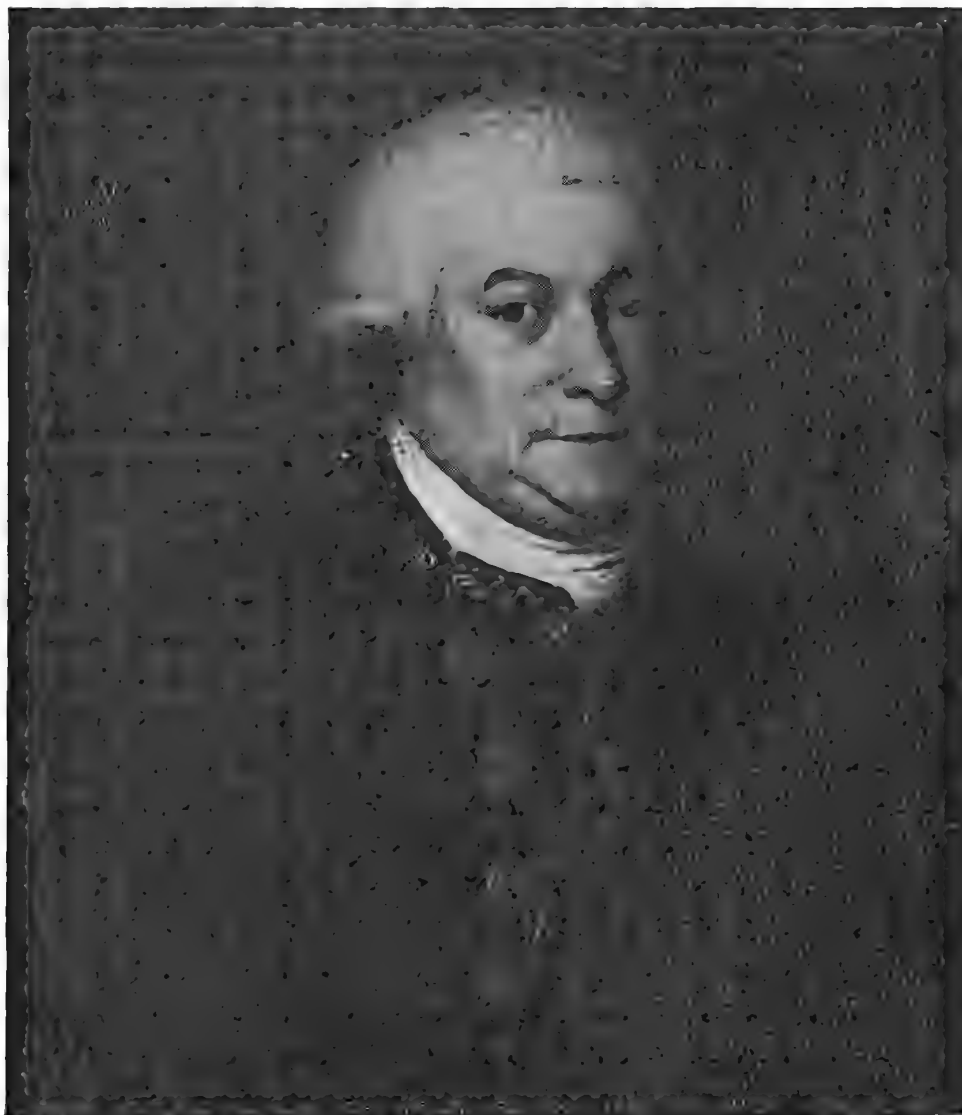
KAMEHAMEHA.
(Aged about 80.)



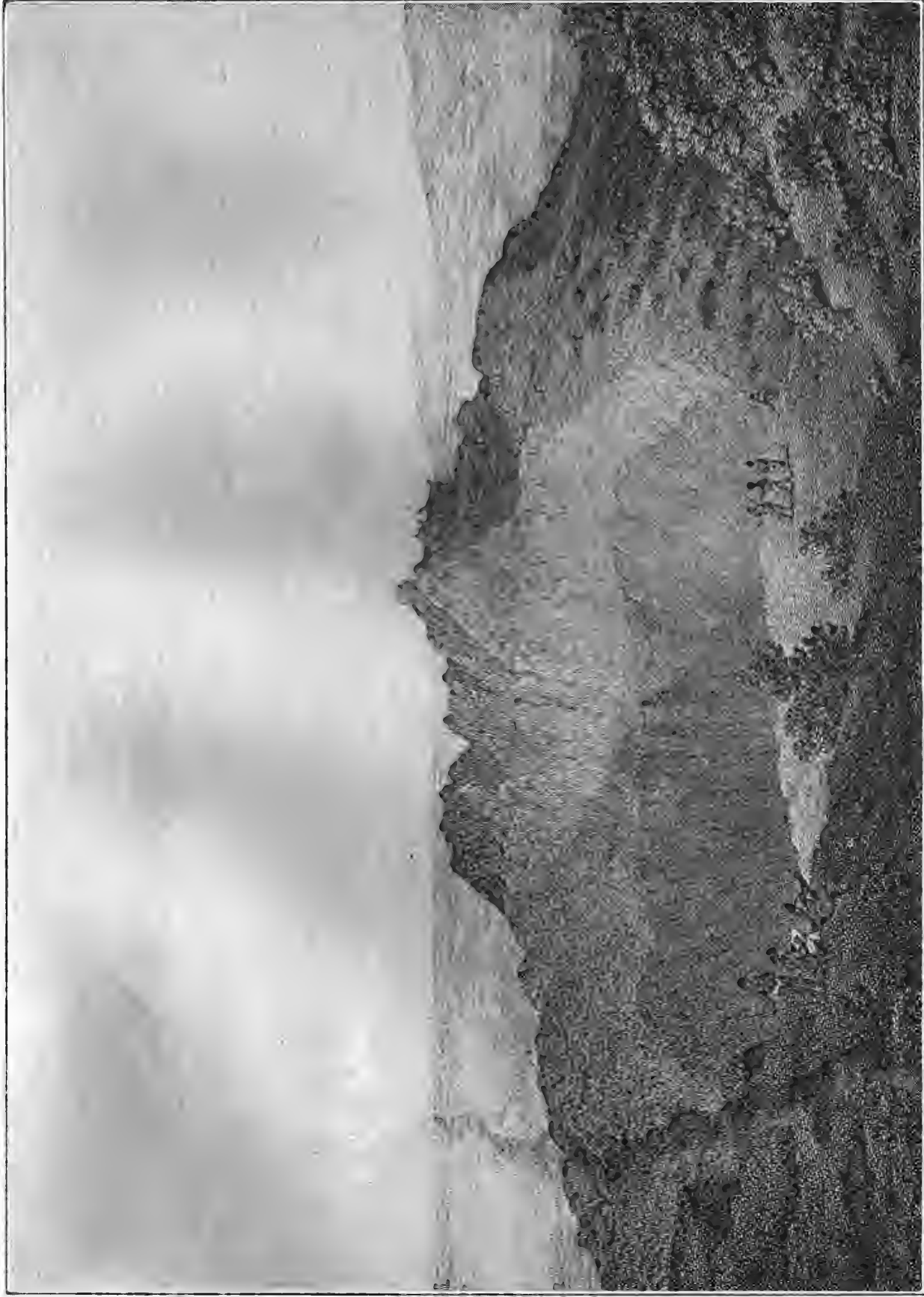
L. Choris, del. 1817.

KAMEHAMEHA.
(aged about 80.)

Samuel F. Abbott, pinxt.



Captain George Vancouver
1758-1798.



Summit Crater of Hualalai (8,275 ft.) Menzies, the first white man to ascend Hualalai, 19th January, 1794.

March 12th. During the forenoon of the 12th and preceding night, we perceived a pretty strong tide or current setting to the westward. This day we had a good many canoes alongside of both vessels, which were mostly single ones. They brought no hogs, but abundance of large gourds, sweet potatoes, water melons and some musk melons, and plenty of fresh water in calabashes, which enabled us in a very short time to replenish our expenditure of that article since we left Kealakekua Bay.

We now had an opportunity to observe that the low land along shore opposite to us was scattered over with numerous habitations amongst a grove of cocoanut palms and other trees and behind them the country rose by a steep ascent to form exceeding high rugged mountains, which occupied the centre of the western peninsula of the island. These mountains are much broken and as it were cleft asunder by deep hideous chasms, which are woody as well as their deep sides, but the top of the mountains are entirely bare and rise in a variety of rugged and peaked forms high above the powers of vegetation.

KING KAHEKILI.

A man who had been left here near four months ago by the same American vessel that John Smith we saw at Kealakekua belonged to, came on board and informed us that Kahekili, the king of these islands and of Oahu, was on his way to visit us and might be hourly expected. He usually resided, he said, on the north side of the isthmus,⁸¹ and was coming from thence round the west end of this island. In the course of the day he made his appearance attended by a number of double canoes under sail from the other side of the island. They came up along the shore from the west point and immediately came up alongside of the *Discovery*, when great bustle was made among the other canoes to clear the way for him.

⁸¹Probably at Wailuku.

The king is a stout elderly man, much given to the drinking of the pernicious ava, if we might judge from the scaly scurfs with which his skin was covered and the inflamed state of his eyes.

March 14th. In the morning of the 14th, Mr. Whidbey set out with two boats, one from us and the other from the Chatham, to examine the shore about the west end of the island for good anchorage, and likewise the deep bay we passed at the low isthmus to the eastward of us.

MENZIES BOTANIZES IN MOUNTAINS BEHIND LAHAINA.

As these examinations were likely to prolong our stay, and as we were at this time upon the most friendly terms with the natives, I conceived it a fit opportunity to go on shore for two days to make an excursion up the mountains for the purpose of collecting plants, in which I was joined by a few of the gentlemen from both vessels, who were incited from curiosity and the object of recreation.

When our intentions were made known to the king, he immediately ordered Kamauoha, the chief of Lahaina, and his own son, a boy of eleven or twelve years old, named Toowhennee,⁸² to accompany us with a suitable number of attendants to carry provisions and every other necessary we might want.

We landed about noon, a little to the eastward of the village, and directed our course up the country for a deep woody chasm in the mountains by a gentle naked ascent, which was rather fatiguing in the heat of the day, but a refreshing breeze with which we were favored enabled us to sustain it. The track we now travelled over was pretty clear of large stones and the soil was of a reddish clayey texture, but it was so parched from its southern exposure to the powerful heat of the solar rays that it was cracked

⁸²Toowhennee in M.S.

and fissured in every direction, and seemed from its scorching and shrivelled produce of grass and herbage to be incapable of any kind of cultivation. We made no stop till we gained the edge of the forest which was about three miles from the seaside, where we found a small village consisting of a few houses.

MENZIES ADMIRER THE HAWAIIAN SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE.

Here our conductors importuned us to dine, and a pig being killed and got ready, together with yams and sweet potatoes, we partook of a hearty meal, after which we continued our journey, and soon entered the verge of the woods where we observed the rugged banks of a large rivulet that came out of the chasm cultivated and watered with great neatness and industry. Even the shelving cliffs of rocks were planted with esculent roots, banked in and watered by aqueducts from the rivulet with as much art as if their level had been taken by the most ingenious engineer. We could not indeed but admire the laudable ingenuity of these people in cultivating their soil with so much economy. The indefatigable labor in making these little fields in so rugged a situation, the care and industry with which they were transplanted, watered and kept in order, surpassed anything of the kind we had ever seen before. It showed in a conspicuous manner the ingenuity of the inhabitants in modifying their husbandry to different situations of soil and exposure, and it was with no small degree of pleasure we here beheld their labor rewarded with productive crops.

SLEEPS IN A CAVE; TOO COLD FOR YOUNG PRINCE.

We entered the forest by a very rugged path, and after penetrating about two miles, we came in the dusk of the evening to a cavern which the natives told us was the only place of shelter we could get to repose for the night. They

immediately strewed the bottom of it over with small fresh boughs and leaves, and after kindling a fire, cooked some refreshments for us. A slight shower of rain falling at the same time made the wood very damp and the air so very chilly that the young prince who accompanied us could not endure it, but set out at a very late hour in the evening on a man's back for the sea side, after promising to join us again the next day. As the path he had to travel over was so rugged in a dark night, which was rendered still more so by our situation embosomed in a woody, deep, narrow chasm with overhanging black precipices of immense height on both sides, we advised him to remain with us, but to no effect. He said the cold would kill him before daylight. We felt it indeed so pinching that we found it necessary to keep a very large fire burning before the entrance to our cavern all night. Laying ourselves down on a mat with our feet towards it, and our bodies wrapped in a quantity of the island cloth, we enjoyed our repose pretty comfortably, till the chirping and cheering noise of numerous warblers wakened us in the morning by the dawn of day.

The wood here was not so much choked up with ferns and underwood as those we examined at Hawaii, but still was equally difficult and dangerous to traverse from its ruggedness, hideous caverns and rocky precipices.

ATTEMPTS TO CROSS OVER TO OTHER SIDE OF ISLAND.

After taking some refreshments which the natives were remarkably dexterous in getting ready and providing, we pursued our path, which, as we advanced, became more difficult and rugged. We were sometimes obliged to scramble up steep precipices where a slip or false step would be attended with the most serious consequences. At other times trusting our whole weight to bushes and lowering ourselves down in situations equally dangerous. We were, however, led on from one difficulty to another in expectation that we

could by this chasm cross over to the other side of the island and then return to the vessels in a double canoe by the west end of it, but after penetrating with great labor and fatigue to about midway, we found it could not be accomplished, for about noon we got to the end of the path, beyond which the natives told us that it was not only hazardous but almost impracticable to proceed further. So after viewing the situation and seeing there was no probability of our succeeding, we sent some of our attendants back to the cavern to cook dinner for us, whilst we followed them at our leisure, botanizing as we went along from the cliffs and clear spots on both sides of the path, and viewing the precipices on each side, of all others, the most awful and tremendous we had ever beheld, for being now placed in the bottom of a deep chasm, not a quarter of a mile wide, walled in on both sides by immense precipices of perpendicular rugged rock and overhanging cliffs forming huge mountains of great elevation, whose tops by their apparent near approach threatened as it were to crush us every moment in their ruins, in short, it was impossible to look up on either side and contemplate the immense heights of these natural walls without being chilled with terror at their majestic and awful appearance. For excepting a small space from over our head to the southward, the whole ethereal expanse was concealed from our view. The cliffs for some way up were here and there adorned with small trees and overhanging bushes, but the upper limit of vegetation which was evidently marked in a horizontal direction on both sides appeared at no great distance from us, and above that, nothing was seen but disjointed cliffs and black rugged rocks piled in a variety of peaked forms, shining in many places with a glossy surface that evidently indicated their vitreous texture and volcanic origin, for in all our researches amongst these islands we had not yet met with any specimen of what we conceived to be a primitive rock or stone. All appeared to be the produce of some great volcanic evo-

lution to which the islands themselves might owe their origin.

MAUI PLANTS DIFFER FROM THOSE OF HAWAII.

The ruggedness of this deep glen produced as might be expected at this height some difference in the variety of plants to what I met with in the woods of Hawaii, but I was here equally unfortunate in not finding at this season of the year many of them either in flower or seed. What I did find, however, in a perfect state were quite new and undescribed by any botanist whatever, which amply compensated my labors and fatigue and the danger to which I frequently exposed myself in collecting them.

THE YOUNG PRINCE RETURNS.

In our return down to the cavern we met the young prince, who we were happy to find got safe to the sea side on the preceding evening notwithstanding it being dark and late. He returned agreeably to his promise and brought us up a supply of provisions and fresh cocoa nuts. We were therefore enabled to dine sumptuously on the produce of the country, our beverage being from a pure crystal stream as it oozed from its source, which was a luxury we very seldom enjoyed. Having spent the day very pleasantly in the forest in botanical researches, we returned in the cool of the evening to the sea side, and at the village engaged a double canoe which brought the whole party on board, when I presented the chief and the young prince with a piece of red cloth each and some other trinkets, and the other natives who accompanied us were rewarded for their services by a small assortment of beads, nails, and other articles with which they were all so well satisfied that they were all desirous of being employed on a similar occasion next day.

KAEO, ALIAS KEAOKULANI, KING OF KAUAI AND NIIHAU.

During our absence, we found that Kaeo, king of Kauai and Niihau, had visited the vessels from the other side of the island. He was here at this time with his warriors aiding his brother Kahekili in the defence of these islands against Kamehameha, King of Hawaii. In him I was happy to meet an old friend to whose hospitality and kind offices I had been formerly under many obligations at a time when it was not in my power to repay him with any adequate return. To show him, however, that I still retained a grateful sense of these obligations and his great merit, I instantly, on his coming on board, exposed every little treasure I was possessed of to his view, and entreated him to select whatever was most gratifying or useful to him, which he did, and amongst several other things, a piece of red cloth for a long robe was highly acceptable to him.

Age has laid a heavy hand on Kaeo within these few years, so that he now appears considerably advanced beyond the prime of life. His stature is moderate, well shaped, with mild, regular features, and a firm steady deportment well becoming his high rank as a king and a great warrior. At the same time he was easy and familiar in his manners, keen and quick in his comprehension and of a cool moderate temper.

When the ship Prince of Wales was at Kauai five years ago, Kaeo was a great favorite both with the officers and crew for his kind attention and friendly behaviour towards them. He was then a daily visitor, and would frequently seat himself near any of the mechanics that were at work, as he appeared extremely anxious of becoming acquainted with the principal modes of working iron and wood into various forms, so that if the blacksmith was doing anything at the forge, if the armourer was cleaning or taking the arms to pieces, or if the carpenters were doing any little

job, he was their constant attendant, and seldom left the spot till they had finished whatever they were about. On these occasions he paid great attention to the forms and uses of their various tools, and seemed always pleased with their dexterous manner of working with them. Whatever he did not perfectly understand he would stop them to enquire for information, or to make some judicious remark. In matters of any importance, Kaeo was extremely inquisitive and deliberately weighed every circumstance so as not to suffer himself to be led astray by false appearances.

About eight in the morning, Mr. Whidbey returned with the two boats from examining the great bay⁸³ to the eastward of us, which he found to have regular soundings of moderate depth, decreasing gradually as he approached the shore, which, together with the bottom, was sandy. The water was smooth and the anchorage appeared commodious, but as the isthmus was very low land, it was apprehended that the trade wind might blow over it sometimes with great violence and render it inconvenient riding to vessels.

CHATHAM SAILS FOR NOOTKA.

In the forenoon the Chatham weighed anchor and set sail for Nootka, in order to have time to repair the copper on her bottom before our arrival on the coast, as it was thought to have received considerable damage the evening she touched upon the rocks coming out of that port in October last. She proceeded through the passage between Maui and Molokai, and in the afternoon we lost sight of her.

KING KAHEKILI INTERROGATED REGARDING THE MURDER OF MESSRS. HERGIST, GOOCH, AND SEAMAN OF DAEDALUS.

This being a kapu-pule day, none of the women came

⁸³Maalaea Bay.

near us and a very few of the men, so that it was thought a good opportunity as Kahekili was on board to question him about the massacre of Lieut. Hergist, Mr. Gooch, and the seaman belonging to the *Daedalus* store ship on the island of Oahu. As this was a delicate subject, it was not thought prudent to mention it while the boats were employed in surveying and we absent in the mountains, in case it might occasion a misunderstanding between us and the natives that might prove fatal to either party. Kahekili protested his innocence of the whole transaction, and expressed his indignation at the cruel circumstances of the murder, which he said had been committed by a fierce and ungovernable mob of the common people who had no chiefs among them at the time to check or restrain their barbarous conduct. He readily allowed that neither Mr. Hergist nor any of his party gave cause of offence by any kind of bad treatment, for which reason he had already ordered three principal murderers to be put to death, which he hoped would sufficiently prove his detestation of their conduct and unwarrantable cruelties, and appease any further mark of indignation or revenge on the part of the English. Capt. Vancouver, however, was not satisfied with this declaration, but insisted that there must be more than three guilty of such horrid murder, and that all who were guilty of it must be delivered up to him on his going to Oahu, in order to make a public and solemn example of them to deter the other natives from committing such treacherous and savage cruelties in future. For this purpose he demanded that two or three chiefs of sufficient rank and power should go with us to Oahu as securities for their delivering up of these culprits. After some considerable consultations with the other chiefs, Kahekili finding Captain Vancouver persisting in his demand, at last agreed with apparent reluctance to send his younger brother named Kamohomoho, with some others who were desirous of going as passengers to Oahu

and Kauai, charged with the disagreeable office of delivering up these criminals, of which he supposed there might still be some remaining, and for that purpose they were to remain on board the *Discovery* until that business should be fulfilled.

EXPLORES THE VILLAGE OF LAHAINA.

March 17th. On the forenoon of the 17th, I accompanied Captain Vancouver and a party of the officers, with the two Niihau women, to see the village of Lahaina, which we found scattered along shore on a low track of land that was neatly divided into little fields and laid out in the highest state of cultivation and improvement by being planted in the most regular manner with the different esculent roots and useful vegetables of the country, and watered at pleasure by aqueducts that ran here and there along the banks intersecting the fields, and in this manner branching through the greatest part of the plantation.

These little fields were transplanted in a variety of forms, some in rows, in squares, in clumps and others at random; some according to their nature were kept covered with water, while others were with equal care kept dry by gathering the earth around them in little hills. In short, the whole plantation was cultivated with such studious care and artful industry as to occupy our minds and attention with a constant gaze of admiration during a long walk through it, in which we were accompanied by a numerous group of natives that continued very orderly and peaceable the whole time. On our coming near the king's house, the greatest part of them separated from us, particularly the women, on account of the ground round it being tabooed. The royal residence was sheltered with spreading trees and cocoa-nut palms situated near some beautiful fish ponds with which it was more than half surrounded, though they were not all at this time in repair or filled with water. They were so contrived as to be filled or emptied at pleasure or

in succession. Here we found Kahekili with some of his chiefs 'seemingly in deep consultation, seated under the shady trees in front of his house. He received us with cordiality, and on our expressing our being thirsty, after our walk, we were supplied with abundance of cocoanuts, the liquor of which we always found to be cool, pleasant and refreshing; and conceiving us to be likewise hungry, he ordered some fish to be caught from one of the ponds near the house, which was done by several of the natives wading into it and splashing the water about with their hands till they penned the fish into a corner and then surrounding them with a net, they mashed and took what number they pleased. At the same time, another party formed an oven by digging a small pit in the ground and heating a number of stones amongst which the fish were laid after being decently cleaned and each wrapped up in a fresh leaf of *Dracaena ferrea*,⁸⁴ and the whole being then covered up with hot stones, leaves and earth, in the same manner they bake their hogs; they were thus cooked in their own juices. I think I never tasted fish better done or more relishing, even without the aid of any sauce whatever. Having thus refreshed and rested ourselves, we returned on board accompanied by some of the chiefs to dinner. After it was sufficiently dark in the evening, some fireworks were displayed from the quarter deck to the no small entertainment of a numerous group of natives who waited alongside in their canoes for the purpose of seeing it, as it had been previously announced to them. The water rockets as usual were the most admired and received the most universal plaudits. Both Kahekili and Kaeo with some other chiefs and their attendants remained on board and slept in the cabin all night.

⁸⁴*Dracaena terminalis*, vel. *Cordyline terminalis*, Ti or Ki of natives.

VANCOUVER OF AN EXCITABLE TEMPER.

Next morning one of the Niihau women missed a piece of ribbon which it is supposed some of those who slept in the cabin stole from her. Captain Vancouver in endeavoring to recover this trifle put himself into such a passion and threatened the chiefs with such menacing threats that he terrified some of them out of the ship with great precipitation. The king in particular came running into my cabin before I knew anything of the business and instantly jumping into his canoe through the port hole, paddled hastily to the shore and we saw no more of him. Kaeo, who was not so easily frightened, and who was among the last that left us, was the first that told me the cause of Kahekili's sudden departure, as he came into my cabin soon after to get his last present. Excepting this little fracas, which I was sorry should happen for so trifling a circumstance at the time we were leaving them, we enjoyed the utmost tranquillity during our stay. While the natives are not suffered to crowd the vessels, the inducements to thefts and misunderstanding are less frequent, and when such restriction becomes an established rule, they felt less compunction at the restraint, and seem equally happy and contented in being suffered to come alongside in their canoes and dispose of their articles peaceably.

Our present situation is as eligible to stop at as any we know among these islands, as the anchorage is good with smooth water and well sheltered from the prevailing trade wind by the high mountains of Maui, and in a great measure from all other accidental winds by the surrounding group of islands, viz., Molokini, Kahoolawe, Lanai and Molokai, none of which are at a very great distance. It likewise possesses the advantage of an abundant supply of fresh water and every kind of vegetable refreshment, but hogs were at this time scarce, as both vessels did not procure above a dozen and a half between them, the whole time we

stayed here. This scarcity of hogs was owing to the ravages and devastations of the late wars on these islands, and to the great warlike establishment which Kahekili was obliged to have at this time upon them, to prevent their falling into the hands of Kamehameha, king of Hawaii.

ACCOUNT OF WARS.

I shall now relate the following short account of these wars according to the best information I was able to collect from both parties. We find soon after Kaiana settled on the island of Hawaii with the great treasure of arms and ammunition bestowed upon him by his friend, Mr. Douglas and others, that Kamehameha, finding himself strengthened by such powerful means, was stimulated thereby, and by the possession of Mr. Medcalf's schooner, to invade the adjacent islands. He accordingly landed with a large army on Maui in the spring of 1790, and having overcome every opposition of the natives, soon made himself master of the island. He afterwards pursued Kalanikupule, a son of Kahekili's, who was then chief of Maui, and his vanquished army to Molokai, and conquered that and the other islands marking his progress in desolating the country by destroying the fields and plantations of the inhabitants, which is their principal mode of carrying on war, for we understand their battles, or rather skirmishes, though frequent, were not of any long continuance or very bloody.

Kalanikupule fled with his warriors to Oahu, leaving Kamehameha in possession of these islands, and at the time when the latter was premeditating his plan of pursuing him and carrying his victorious army against Kahekili to the principal seat of government, news came to Kamehameha that his own dominions were attacked at home, which made him relinquish his conquests and return to Hawaii. Keoua, son of Kalaniopuu by Kanekapolei, who reigned over the two southern districts of Hawaii⁸⁵ since his father's death,

⁸⁵Puna and Ka-u.

embraced the opportunity of Kamehameha's absence of rising in arms against his own uncle Keawemauhili, and having killed him, took possession of his district at the east end of the island. Being then master of one half of the island, and finding the other half unguarded, he aimed at the subduing of the whole under his own sovereignty. For this purpose he entered Kamehameha's territories with a hostile army, but meeting with strong opposition from Keeaumoku and other chiefs, he was worsted in a battle and obliged to retreat to his own settlement. When Kamehameha arrived with his warriors, Kaiana with a chosen party was sent in pursuit of the rebellious chief, and after some skirmishes, took him at his own house and brought him and several of his followers as prisoners to Kawaihae, where they were put to death⁸⁶ and where there skulls are still exposed on the rails round a large marae which was erected on purpose to commemorate this event, as we have already noticed.⁸⁷ By this means, Kamehameha became king of all the island and made greater conquests at home than he did abroad.

Kahekili in the meantime dreading the rapid progress of Kamehameha in conquering Maui and the other islands, sought the assistance of Kaeo, his brother king of the island of the Leeward Islands, and both these sovereigns joining their strength and forces together came to windward with a warlike fleet of canoes, and finding the Hawaiian chief had so abruptly quitted his conquests, they immediately

⁸⁶Keoua, youngest son of Kalaniopuu (king of western Hawaii in Capt. Cook's time), was defeated by Kamehameha's warriors in 1789. He was induced to go to Kawaihae for the purpose of surrendering himself to Kamehameha, but on his arrival there was treacherously assassinated in his canoe by Keeaumoku, father-in-law of Kamehameha. Kauikeouli or Kiwalao, eldest son of Kalaniopuu, and cousin of Kamehameha, was slain in a battle fought in 1780 between the forces of these cousins.

⁸⁷The Heiau of Puukohola at Kawaihae, still (1920) in existence, though in a ruined condition.

followed him and invaded Hawaii in their turn, expecting to be joined by Keoua's party, and taking advantage of the civil commotions on the island, they landed on the north-west point,⁸⁸ and as customary with invaders, committed great depredations in destroying the fields and produce of the plantations on that part of the island. But Kamehameha was already invested as sovereign, and in consequence thereof was at this time performing some ritual ceremonies at Kealakekua. When the news of Kahekili's landing with a great army was brought to him, he very coolly said to the messenger, "They must be hungry and fatigued; let them remain a few days to rest and fill their bellies, and then he would give them battle," which he did, and obliged them to take to their canoes in great precipitation, and in very stormy weather, which dispersed them with great loss. After suffering much, many were driven back again on the island of Hawaii, where if they had the good fortune to escape the raging element and the immediate heat of battle, were afterwards suffered to remain on the island without any molestation. This shows that these natives are not like the American savages, revengeful in their disposition towards their enemies, nor so inexorable in their cruelties, for after the heat of battle was over, all animosities were soon forgot, and the vanquished were admitted to live amongst them as friends, many of whom are still on the island.

ONLY TWO OR THREE ALII MOI ON WHOLE GROUP.

One of them, a lady of great consequence, an Alii moi, that was taken a prisoner at Maui, who is honored with all her former rank and dignity, and has greater homage paid to her than the king himself, for all the people prostrated

⁸⁸Kohala district.

themselves in her presence, which was a mark of veneration we never observed them to do to any other. So this very high rank of Alii moi, which they allow themselves to have been more common among them formerly, seems to dwindle away much since Captain Cook's time, as there were not at this time above one or two more of them on the whole group of islands.

Since that time Kahekili and Kaeo have been obliged to live mostly on Maui with a considerable force for its defence, as they are very jealous of Kamehameha's power, but neither of them have attempted to invade the other's territory.

LEAVES LAHAINA AND SAILS ALONG MOLOKAI.

March 18th. In the forenoon we weighed anchor and after making sail, steered for the east end of Molokai. When we advanced into the passage between the islands, we experienced a very fresh breeze of the trade wind. In the evening, we stood back again upon a wind, and anchored for the night under the west end of Maui.

March 19th. Having weighed early in the morning of the 19th, we stood over again close hauled for Molokai, off the north-east point of which we saw a barren rocky islet called by the natives Moku Hooniki, a short distance from the shore, which is not noticed in Capt. Cook's chart or account of these islands.

After getting close in with Molokai, we bore up along the south side of it, and on coming off the west end made some tacks into a bay⁸⁹ where we came to anchor late in the evening. We were visited by no natives or canoes of this end of Molokai. The people we had on board told us that Kamehameha's descent upon it had desolated the country, and that it had not yet recovered its former state of population.

⁸⁹Probably Kaunakakai or rather Kaunakahakai.

At daylight next morning we weighed and stood for the east end of Oahu, intending to go round the north side of the island for the bay⁹⁰ where the *Daedalus* store ship anchored when the unfortunate massacre happened, but the natives we had on board wishing rather to be landed in Waikiki Bay, Captain Vancouver after going two leagues up the north-east side, at their entreaty, bore up, and about three in the afternoon anchored in Waikiki Bay, on the south side of the island. As we were standing into the bay, a double canoe came alongside in which James Coleman, one of Mr. Kendrick's men we saw last year at Kauai, came off and told us that he had lately come from Kauai and settled on what he himself called considerable landed property, with particular powers from Kahekili to regulate the traffic and prevent any disturbance between the natives and the vessels that might visit the island. With him there came on board one of the natives named Kapeaiku, who could speak a little broken English, which he learned, he said, in a voyage to Boston in America, and who happened to be the very man who landed with Lieutenant Hergist and Mr. Gooch, as a guide, when they were killed on the other side of the island by the natives. He showed us the scars of wounds he then received in endeavouring to save their lives, and the moment he came on board he confirmed what we had heard at Maui, viz., that three of the culprits were put to death by the king's orders. He further added that there was still one man on shore whom he saw kill Lieutenant Hergist, and that he would point him out to us when he came alongside the vessel. Kapeaiku was immediately called into the cabin. What passed on his further examination I know not, but as soon as he came out, he and Kamohomoho instantly went on shore to secure, as we were told, the rest of the culprits according to Kahekili's orders before any report might be spread to alarm them.

⁹⁰Waimea Bay.

PEARLS AND LADIES FOR SALE.

All the natives we brought down from Maui went on shore at the same time, excepting one man and a woman who were going to Kauai. After we anchored, canoes soon collected round us and continued till the dusk of the evening, disposing of pearls, which in general were small and very indifferent. The ladies tendered themselves in the evening, as usual, but none of the natives of the island were admitted on board for fear of any alarms or reports spreading of the steps intended to be taken with their criminals.

SUSPECTED MURDERERS SECURED.

March 21st. The morning of the 21st was calm, and no canoes came near us till eight, when a few collected round us to dispose of their pearls. In the forenoon, Kamohomoho and James Coleman who went on shore with him on the preceding evening and another chief named Kanawi, came alongside in a large double canoe, and as we observed, no prisoners secured in it, but after a little conversation on board they privately pointed out three of the paddlers in the canoe, who they said, were guilty of the murder, and who they called on board under pretense of disposing of their pearls to better advantage to Captain Vancouver in the cabin. These men eagerly obeyed the summons, little dreaming the consequences, and after they were a little while in the cabin, Mr. Dobson, who was on board the Daedalus, was called in. He identified one of them as being a very turbulent man along side the Daedalus on the day the accident happened, and who the seamen that went on shore in the boat informed him was the instigator of the quarrel that took place on the beach. The chiefs it was said likewise privately pointed him out as the man who put an end to the lingering tortures of Mr. Hergist, and the other two they said were deeply concerned in the cruel massacre of the two gentlemen and in butchering their bodies and excarnating their bones in the most savage

manner. After this the three men were secured in the cabin by a guard of marines, conducted immediately below, and put in irons between decks, with orders to the sentinel placed over them to suffer nobody whatever to approach them or have any conversation with them.

While this business was transacting on board, a messenger was sent on shore for Kapeaiku in order to identify these people, as he was on the spot according to his own account when the accident happened, but the messenger soon returned and said that he could not be found; that he had fled to the mountains early in the morning, being afraid to come off on account of some harsh reproofs received on the preceding evening from Captain Vancouver.

After this, Lehua, the Hawaii man we had on board, and James Coleman were sent on shore to Kalanikupule, who acted as regent in his father's absence, to request that he would exert his influence to send Kapeaiku on board, as his evidence was of so much consequence. But they were told by him that he could not be found. At the same time he mentioned the names of these men, who he said, were all accessory to the cruel murder of our countrymen. These Captain Vancouver declared before the officers who were called into the cabin in the afternoon, agreed with the names of those in confinement, and James Coleman at the same time declared upon oath administered by Captain Vancouver that the above was the message he received from Kalanikupule.

The three men were still kept ignorant of the crime for which they were confined, nor did they on their first being secured make the least struggle for their escape or even suspect what was going forward till they were putting them in irons, when they instantly began to offer pearls, which was all the riches they had, to the marines for their liberty, and eagerly enquired if they were going to put them to death. But as none of their countrymen were allowed to

come near them, or nobody suffered to return an answer to their enquiries, they soon became dejected, and, I believe, sufficiently apprehensive of their fate. For the dumb signs of pity expressed in the countenance of them about them, was a language sufficiently expressive for their comprehension, but as they were not heard exculpating themselves of any supposed crime, it might be conceived they were not conscious of any or the cause of their treatment.

When the chiefs left the ship in the evening, they were told that these three men were to be put to death next morning, and they were requested to attend pretty early for that purpose, and invite as many of the natives alongside as possible, that it might act as a public example to deter them from committing such atrocious crimes in future. Except the prisoners, no other strangers were suffered to remain on board for the night.

Next morning, like the preceding, the weather was calm, clear and serene, but the canoes did not come near us till the day was well advanced, except one or two that seemed to visit us from curiosity as they made but a short stay along side, and having nothing to dispose of, paddled quickly again to the shore. Others were observed hovering at a distance, probably the friends of the prisoners, in expectation of their escaping, so that it was not till the chiefs came off that any number of them ventured alongside, and then they began to traffic with their pearls and curiosities as usual.

THREE PRISONERS TRIED FOR MURDER.

After breakfast, Captain Vancouver sent for the officers of the gun room into the cabin to assist him in the trial of these three prisoners, who with the two chiefs of the island, Kamohomoho and Kanawai, were brought before them. The two latter declared in their presence that all the three were guilty of the murders alleged against them, and desired that they should immediately be put to death for the crime.

Hearing thus their accusation for the first time and their accusers pronounce their doom, they trembled with the utmost dread of the consequences, and attempted with faltering voices to plead their innocence, but the chiefs would not hear them. We endeavoured to cross-examine them through James Coleman and Lehua, who were both better acquainted with their language, but as they constantly pleaded their innocence of being in the least concerned in the transaction alleged against them or answers to that effect, there was no means of coming nearer to the truth than the assertions of their own chiefs, which on this occasion was deemed sufficient, as it was thought necessary to make a public and exemplary punishment; to convince the natives of these islands that they were not to commit such unprovoked murders and cruelties with impunity, and that no lapse of time will ever erase from our minds the atrocity of such guilt, till the criminals should suffer condign punishment for their crimes, so that they may hereafter dread the consequences of such deliberate acts of savage barbarity.

THE THREE PRISONERS SHOT BY THEIR OWN CHIEFS OFF THE BEACH AT WAIKIKI.

The three criminals were then conducted on the quarter deck where the marines were drawn up under arms, and there put in irons, while the ship's crew were called up and made acquainted by Capt. Vancouver with the crime for which these men were now to suffer. After this our men were ordered to their quarters, and the two chiefs ordered a large double canoe alongside of the gangway into which one of the prisoners was carried and lashed down on his back, when Kanawi, who took upon himself their execution, went with a ship's pistol into the canoe and shot him through the head, so that he instantly died without a groan or struggle, and his body was taken away by a single canoe that was in waiting. When the second prisoner was brought into the

canoe, he enquired of his countrymen what had been done with the other, and when they told him, he laid himself quietly down without a struggle, and suffered in the same manner. The third had a fine flowing crest of black hair, which the chief cut carefully off before he quit the quarter deck, with a pair of scissors, and as they were lowering him down into the canoe, he slipped out of their hands overboard and endeavoured to make his escape by swimming. But his hands being fastened behind him, the canoe soon picked him up again, and the chief put an end to his existence in the same manner he did the others. After this, there was a dispute between the two chiefs about the last man's hair, which of them should have the honor of presenting it to Kahekili, and it at last fell to Kamohomoho.

When the disagreeable business was thus ended, the two chiefs came up to Captain Vancouver on the quarter deck and taking him by the hand, asked him if he was satisfied with what they had done, and whether Kahekili and Kaeo had acted a false part. He told them that he was perfectly satisfied with their conduct, and desired them to assure Kahekili and Kaeo that he was their particular friend, and that all animosity on account of this business should now end in perfect reconciliation.

The double canoe then landed the dead bodies, which we could see them carry away up to the king's house, surrounded by a vast crowd of people. Most of the canoes that came alongside in the forenoon kept hovering at a little distance during the time of the execution and now followed the double canoe that carried the dead bodies on shore, a few only remaining alongside.

KALANIKUPULE, A SUFFERER FROM TUBERCULOSIS.

The double canoe soon returned for the chiefs, who after receiving some presents from Capt. Vancouver, went

on shore, and by them a piece of red cloth was sent as a present to Kalanikupule, who they constantly informed us was indisposed, which was thought to be only a fabricated excuse that he might not put himself in our power during this disagreeable transaction. But it being now over and all animosity at an end, an invitation was sent for him to come alongside the vessel in his canoe if he could not come on board. This he accepted and in the afternoon came to us lying on a litter in a double canoe. A chair was lowered down for him in which he came into the ship, and appeared very weak and emaciated from a pulmonary complaint that now produced hectic symptoms, for which I gave him some medicines, accompanied with some general directions how to manage his complaint. He was laid on the sofa in the cabin, and was requested to remain on board till the dusk of the evening, when a few sky and water rockets and other fireworks were let off from the quarter deck that appeared to give him and every one of the natives present very great satisfaction, particularly the water rockets, which still preserved their goodness, and always excited a loud noise of awe and admiration in the whole group. They seemed even to give fresh vigor to the drooping spirits of the sickly chief, who, as soon as the display of these fireworks was over, was again lowered down into his canoe and sent on shore, attended by all the natives and canoes, seemingly well satisfied with his reception on board.

VANCOUVER EXAMINES BUT DOES NOT ENTER HONOLULU HARBOR.

March 23d. Early in the forenoon of the 23d, we got under way, but the wind being westerly, we made but very little progress against it. In the evening observing an ap-

parent inlet⁹¹ in the western side of the bay, we came to an anchor before the entrance to it, and being informed while on the north-west coast of America by the masters of some of the trading vessels that a small snug harbor was situated in this side of the bay, boats were sent out early next morning to examine the passage in, but they found it so guarded by a reef a little distance from the shore that there was no access even for vessels of small draught of water.

ENTRANCE TO PEARL HARBOR NOTICED.

The appearance of another opening was seen a little to the northward of this one,⁹² whose entrance might perhaps be more favorable, but the boats had not time to examine it, and when they came alongside, and were hoisted in, we in the evening got under weigh again and with a light breeze went round the west point of the bay, which is also the south point of the island.

March 24th. Next day being under the high land of the south-west part of the island, we had it mostly calm, with intervals of light fluctuating airs, with which we kept moving slowly along the shore of the island, which here trended northwestward. Off this point of the island, we had very uneven soundings, sometimes no ground with a hundred and ten fathoms of line pretty near the shore; at other times we had suddenly shoal water, so as to oblige us to stand off.

MEET CANOES IN OAHU-KAUAI CHANNEL.

Having traced this shore to the western extreme of the

⁹¹The harbor of Kou, now known as Honolulu. Capt. Brown of the *Jackal*, and Capt. Gordon of the *Prince Lee Boo*, entered Honolulu harbor for the first time on November 21, 1794. Capt. Brown called it Fairhaven.

⁹²Wai Momi, or Pearl Harbor, now an important U. S. Naval Station, "The Key of the Pacific."

island, we, in the evening, with a light breeze, shaped our course for Kauai. The following day was nearly calm and when in the afternoon we were about half way between the two islands, we met four canoes, three double ones and a single one, going to the windward islands. The latter came a little out of her course to speak to us. She was the largest single canoe we had seen amongst these islands, being about sixty feet long and made of one piece of the trunk of a pine tree which had drifted on shore on the east end of the island of Kauai a few years back. She had sixteen men in her and was loaded on the outriggers with a large quantity of cloth, spears, two muskets and other articles, which they were carrying up to Maui to Kaeo.

But we understood that they were charged with a business of more consequence, which was to inform Kaeo of an insurrection that happened about ten days before on the island of Kauai, in which some of the principal chiefs, leaders of the faction, lost their lives. They showed some of their arm and thigh bones, excarnated, which they were carrying to the king as trophies of their victory. In the double canoes they told us there were prisoners who were to be landed at Oahu. These had been taken into custody for favoring the late faction, and amongst them was one of Kaeo's wives, the mother of a favorite young son named Kapo, who, I knew, was formerly a great favourite of his.

ARRIVES OFF KAUI.

March 27th. In the forenoon of the 27th, we were close in with the east end of Kauai, and having had but a scanty supply of refreshments during our stay at Oahu, we lay off and on in expectation of being more abundantly supplied here, and likewise in expectation of seeing the principal chiefs who, we knew, usually resided at this end of the island. Some canoes having come off to us, the chiefs that

came down with us from the windward islands went on shore, among whom was a very facetious chief with one eye, named Pule. Williams, whom we saw last year at Waimea, and two other sailors came off to us from Puna, and some time after, old Inamoo, the present regent on the island. After he and everyone else had left us, we, in the evening, had a visit for about half an hour from the young king, Kaumualii, during which time we lay to for him. Finding we had lost considerable ground in the course of the day, notwithstanding our endeavours to preserve it, on account of a strong current setting us to leeward, we made a press of sail after the young king went on shore, and lay off and on for the night.

March 28th. Next morning we found that we had just preserved our ground, and being close in with the land, about ten in the forenoon we saw some canoes coming off, and hove to for them until some chiefs came on board. Then we bore up and made sail along the southern side of the island for the Bay of Waimea, with a fresh breeze, till about two in the forenoon, when we were nearly abreast of the east point of Waimea Bay. Late in the evening we were favored with a light land breeze that brought us to the anchorage in 33 fathoms, the extremes of the bay bearing from S. 64 E. to N. 70 W. and the mouth of the river Waimea N. 35 E. two miles.

March 29th. A number of canoes came off to us early on the 29th, with vegetables and refreshments, when a brisk trade commenced for these articles. At the same time the boats were hoisted out and all the empty casks were sent on shore to be filled with fresh water, with a guard of marines to protect and aid those employed on this duty, under the command of Mr. Swaine.⁹³ Our principal business here was

⁹³Spelman Swaine, master's mate of the Discovery.

to complete our water and get a good stock of yams to carry to sea with us, but the latter were at this time so scarce that we procured but very few. Taro was the only vegetable that was any wise plentiful, but it was small and young and would not keep for any time at sea. The only place where a supply of yams could be got at this time, they told us, was on the north side of Kauai. It was once intended, I believe, to run down that side to survey it, as it is left unfinished in Captain Cook's chart, but the current we experienced off the east end of the island prevented our accomplishing it.

We were likewise much disappointed when we were told that we could get no yams this year at Niihau, an island which always used to afford such abundant supply of that useful article, that vessels generally took away as many as lasted them for a month or two. A long succession of dry weather had shrivelled and burnt up the greatest part of the produce of that island, so that most of the inhabitants were obliged to leave it and come to Kauai to escape the suffering pangs of general famine.

THE TWO NIIHAU WOMEN LANDED.

The two Niihau women hearing this dreadful account of their native country, and meeting with a number of their relations here and off the east end of the island, were very desirous of being landed on Kauai in preference to Niihau. This being mentioned to Inamoo at the time, they were strongly recommended to his care and protection, when we had that chief on board off the east end. He then readily gave his consent, and particular directions that they should be left under the chief of Waimea in whose district a house and a portion of land should be given to each of them, and where all their effects should be protected in safety. In

consequence of this arrangement they both went on shore this afternoon with all their effects which were pretty considerable, for besides what they had from Captain Vancouver and others, Mr. Puget, commander of the *Chatham*, before he parted with us, made each of them a very large present, consisting of a great variety of articles both of utility and ornament. They also in the way of barter and presents procured a very large assortment of the different cloths and the other articles at the Windward Island which were here considered scarce and valuable, so that on the whole they might now be considered by far as the richest at these islands.

When they landed all their effects were instantly carried to a house, a little way back from the beach, that had a little court before it. Here the parcels were opened, for the chief would not take them in charge without having each article counted over to him separately. But as their contents consisted mostly of a number of small articles, such as knives, scissors, looking glasses, beads, buttons, ear-rings, needles, tapes, nails, axes, fish hooks, pieces of iron, files, rasps and a variety of other tools, besides a great quantity of different cloths and ornamental articles from Hawaii and the other islands, he soon found this mode too tedious, and at last agreed on looking into each parcel to take them as they were without counting the different articles. They were then placed in the house which was tabooed, and a guard put over them. After this we walked a little distance through the plantations, where we were shown the houses that were to be put in repair for these women, and the extent of ground that was to be allotted to each of them, which if any dependence could be placed on their being in earnest, was a very liberal allowance and situated in the very best part of the plantation, but of this we could not help entertaining some doubts.

Great pains were taken to instill in the minds of these people that we were to return again next year, and that if these women were not suffered to enjoy their property without molestation, those who should infringe or ill-use them during our absence would incur great displeasure and be treated accordingly, on which every one promised fair to be friend. The chiefs, however, wished to know if the women were to be allowed to make presents to whomever they liked themselves. This certainly could not with propriety be prevented, and we had no doubt but their whole property would soon be disposed of in this way, as they were constantly surrounded by a number of begging friends and relations or such as pretended to be so, who were likely to strip them of everything.

Before we came away, the eldest of the girls told us that the chief of the village had made proposals to her to be his wife. This match we endeavoured to encourage on both sides, at the same time leaving her at her own disposal and that of her friends.

They followed us back to the beach, where they took leave of Captain Vancouver and other officers with tears trickling down their cheeks. Here they sat down with a number of natives around them, curious to hear their little stories, and did not quit the beach until the last of our people had left the shore and the vessel getting under weigh in the evening got out of their sight.

They constantly wore shoes, stockings and a sort of English habit that was made for them on board, which they told us they would lay aside as soon as we went away for the purpose of preserving them, that they might appear in them on our return to these islands.

GIRLS WERE ABDUCTED FROM NIIHAU.

These two girls were about ten months absent from their friends and constantly declared to us that they were taken away in the "Jenny" from Niihau, without either their own consent or that of their parents or relations, as they were kept below confined in the cabin while the vessel was getting under way and leaving the island.. But they spoke of no further ill-treatment during their stay on board of her, which was about four months. In that time she visited several parts of the north-west coast of America for the purpose of collecting furs, where they had an opportunity of seeing several American tribes and observing their customs and manners, which they could not reflect on without expressing their utmost disgust, particularly at their uncleanly and filthy modes of living, at their besmearing themselves with grease and dirt, and its consequence, the strong cadaverous stench which constantly attends them. They always considered their own native modes and situation in life to rank so far superior as to admit of no comparison. They were always pleasing and social companions to one another, and being of an open cheerful disposition they frequently amused themselves in making songs to commemorate the events of their voyage, in which the peculiarities and filthiness of the North-West American Indians were always treated with mirthful derision. Nor were the Spaniards in California forgot, and even their friends on board were sometimes brought under the lash of their sarcastic verse.

During the time they were on the Discovery, they lived at Captain Vancouver's table in the cabin, and conducted themselves with such propriety and decorum that they gained the friendship and esteem of every one on board. I attended them in their lingering illness which has been already mentioned, and can aver that none could have borne

their sufferings with more becoming patience and resignation. When they became much weakened by their complaint, and apprehended their approaching dissolution, the idea of not seeing their parents and relations again was a cause of much grief, and often filled their eyes with tears of the tenderest affection, accompanied with expressions of the most grateful regard. But these were more fully indulged in private, for if anyone was present, they would endeavour to suppress them and appear cheerful. Though our passage from California to the Islands was not long, yet to them it was uncommonly tedious, as in their state of weakness and suffering, they longed much for their former vegetable food, particularly the poi-taro⁹⁴ and yams, and when they got these on their coming to Hawaii, they recovered their strength and vigor remarkably quick.

When in this passage we came into the tropical region, their native climate, I frequently observed that a shower of rain falling was then so congenial to them that it always affected their feelings with a kind of thoughtfulness that brought tears into their eyes. On enquiring what was the cause of such dejection, they told me that such weather always pictured to their minds their parents and relations busily employed in their fields in rural industry, planting their yams and other vegetables.

INSURRECTION AGAINST THE TYRANT INAMOO.

The insurrection that happened here about a fortnight ago, as we now understand, was not so much against Kaeo or any of the present royal family, as against old Inamoo for his cruel and tyrannic administration from which it was intended to eject him and put the young king Kaumualii

⁹⁴Poi, a paste food made from taro (*arum esculentum*), the Hawaiians' staff of life.

in the regency during his father's absence. For it would seem that Inamoo exercised his present delegated authority with the imperious sway of a despotic governor by frequent private assassinations for the most frivolous reasons, even among the chiefs, sparing neither rank nor sex in the accomplishment of his views. On this account a few resolute chiefs, among which we were told was even his own brother, collected on a small eminence in Puna, near where he resided, at the east end of the island. There they kindled a large fire in the night time as a signal to collect together their adherents, Inamoo having got early intelligence of their intentions, collected on his side seven Europeans that were at that time on the island, and putting musquets into their hands, stationed them at the foot of the hill to cover his own warriors, while they ascended to disperse the insurgents. They accomplished this so effectually that three of the ringleaders of the faction were killed, together with four of their people, chiefly by throwing themselves from the summit of a precipice, choosing to die rather in this manner than suffer under the exulting cruelties of their enemy. Several were made prisoners and others were taken into custody who were thought to favor the faction. Amongst these was one of Kaeo's favorite wives, as we have already mentioned, who were all transported to the island of Oahu.

The business was thus settled by the timely exertions of Inamoo before our arrival and all people brought to a sense of due submission, excepting one chief of considerable power on the island, who made his escape to the mountains, where he still remained. A proclamation was, however, issued promising him a free pardon if he would come in and submit himself, so that these people on the whole seem to settle their own civil commotions with less acrimony than more civilized nations.

The 30th March, 1793, having weighed anchor at a late hour on the preceding evening, when the boats came off, we made sail to leave these islands, and during the night and morning continued standing to the westward with a slow progress between the islands of Niihau and Kauai, having sometimes a light land breeze off the latter and at other times calm. As soon as we were so far clear of Kauai that we had the regular trade wind, we stood to the north-westward, but about eleven we bore up for Lehua to examine its connection with Niihau, or see whether they were separated by a navigable passage.

INVESTIGATES THE ISLAND OF LEHUA.

At noon, we observed in latitude 22.4 N. about two miles to the northward off the north point of Lehua, we then stood close round under the lee of the island, but saw no signs of cultivation or any inhabitants upon it. On the contrary, it appeared to be nothing else but a barren rock of lava, composed of strata, very irregular both in their directions and dimensions, and pierced through in several places with hideous caverns. We stood far enough into the bay on the south side of it to convince ourselves that it was joined to Niihau by a reef of rocks covered with shallow water, and that there was no clear passage for the smallest vessel to go through between them.

CAPTAIN KING'S ESTIMATE OF THE POPULATION OF THE ISLAND AN EXAGGERATED ONE.

Captain King in his statement of the number of inhabitants on these islands, makes this one contain 4,000, which we were now convinced to be erroneous, and we conceive the whole of his statement to be an exaggerated cal-

cultation, or the population since his time must be greatly diminished on all the islands.⁹⁵

A little before one in the afternoon, we hauled the wind on the other tack, and about four took our departure from these islands, when Lehua bore S.E. 1-2 E.. by compass, distant about six leagues. We had a fresh breeze from north-east and cloudy weather the rest of the evening. Next day the wind continued from the same quarter and blew a moderate steady breeze till we crossed the tropic of Cancer.

⁹⁵Modern writers state that Captain Cook made an estimate of the population of the Sandwich Islands. No such estimate is to be found in the private log or journal kept by Capt. Cook during his third and last voyage. Lieut. J. King, who succeeded to the command of one of the vessels of the expedition after Captain Cook's death, was the one who made what is now believed to be an exaggerated estimate of the population of the Sandwich Island group. In his manuscript log (as yet unprinted), Lieut. King, after discussing the question at considerable length, says, "The above numbers collected together give half a million for the population of these islands. It is mere guesswork, founded principally upon the numbers given to Otaheite, and the comparative size and cultivation of these (Sandwich) Islands with that."





THIRD VISIT

1794

January 8th. Early on the morning of the 8th we made the island of Hawaii. The land first seen was the summit of Mauna Kea, bearing west-half-south by compass, and by our run afterwards to it, it could not then be far short of 25 leagues off. Yet its white snowy top appeared high above the clouds when first observed. We had a moderate trade wind and cloudy weather all day, with which we stood on to the westward till the dusk of the evening when the east end of Hawaii bore S. 30 deg. W. by compass, about four leagues off.. We then shortened sail and hauled to the wind to spend the time off and on until daylight, as it was then intended to examine a place near this end of

the island called Waiakea, which the natives reported to us last year, formed a good harbor, and if it should be found to afford sufficient shelter from the prevailing trade wind, with good anchorage, it was meant to enter it with all the vessels

WAIAKEA BAY.

January 9th. Having arrived off the north-east coast of Hawaii early in the morning of the 9th, a native of that island who had been to the North-West Coast of America in the Chatham, was sent for from that vessel to come on board the Discovery to point out the situation of Waiakea, and having reached abreast of it within three or four miles of the shore, when we were about six leagues from the east end of the island, we shortened sail about 8 in the morning and hove to with our head to the shore. A boat was hoisted out from each vessel and sent manned and armed under the direction of Mr. Whidbey to examine this reported harbor. Some time after the boats left us we were visited by a few of the natives mostly in single canoes, who brought off a little bread fruit and taro, but no hogs or poultry, so that we suspected there was a general taboo as last year. Not long after these, a double canoe was seen coming off distinguished with an English pennant displayed at the mast head.

KAMEHAMEHA COMES ON BOARD.

In this we soon recognized our old friend, Kamehameha, with some other chiefs who said that they knew the vessels and hastened off to see us. As they came from the east side of the bay, they missed meeting with our boats who kept the western shore close on board going in. We found that his majesty was not a little proud in displaying his

English pennant which he had from us last year at Kealakekua, when he was told that it was only vessels of war belonging to our king that had a right to wear such a mark of distinction in Britannee. We were much pleased to see him come off so readily to renew his friendship, but felt for his situation when we understood that some family concerns had of late given him great uneasiness.

KAAHUMANU IN DISGRACE.

For when we enquired for the queen,⁹⁶ he himself told us that she was in disgrace for being detected a short time before our arrival in an amorous intrigue with one of her male attendants, on which account he had discarded her. The only punishment inflicted on the man for this crime was degradation and confiscation of his landed property, but if it should be found that they would cohabit together or live in open adultery, then a punishment of greater severity would be inflicted on them both according to the will of the sovereign. Kamehameha being very fond of the queen, he appeared a good deal dejected on account of her infidelity. He told us that John Young and Isaac Davies were still on the island and at this time both in Kealakekua attending an American vessel that had been there about two months commanded by Mr. Kendrick, called the *Lady Washington*.

BOYD, AN ENGLISHMAN.

There came on board with Kamehameha, an English man of the name of Boyd,⁹⁷ who had been mate of an Amer-

⁹⁶Kaahumanu.

⁹⁷James Boyd, ship's carpenter, was living at Honolulu as late as 1810, being then one of the staff of artisans employed by Kamehameha I. in repairing his fleet of vessels which he had acquired from foreigners since date of Vancouver's visit (see Archibald Campbell's Voyage).

ican trading vessel, but from ill usage said he had quitted her on the North-West Coast and came to this island in another vessel, a few months before. He now employed himself with the natives in constructing a boat or small vessel, which he was going to build on shore here for the king of the island. Mr. Boyd said that in coming from the States of America they touched at the Falkland Islands, where they found a Spanish settlement, and after coming round Cape Horn, they went to the island of Ambrose, off the coast of Peru, where they stayed five months, and in that time collected about 13,000 seal skins for the Chinese market.

HILO HARBOR NOT A GOOD ONE, BUT SURROUND- ING DISTRICT WELL CULTIVATED.

As it was given out last year that it was our intention to anchor here with the vessels, if the place should be found eligible, Kamehameha said that he remained on this part of the island on purpose to receive us, and that he had been for some time looking out for us with daily expectations. We spent the forenoon laying to at a little distance from the shore, and in the afternoon our boats returned, when Mr. Whidbey reported that it was by no means a fit place for the vessels to go into, as the best anchorage which was in the moderate depth of seven fathoms, was much exposed to the prevailing wind, being open from between north-by-west and north-west; that from the east point which was low, a reef or ledge of rocks went off for about two points, but which was not sufficient to prevent a heavy rolling swell from breaking at this time incessantly over it into the bay that made the surf so exceeding rough in the bottom of the bay that they did not attempt to land from either of the boats.

In the channel going in between the point of the reef and the western shore, the soundings very gradually decreased from sixteen to three fathoms, which last was within half a cable's length of the shore, and the bottom was sandy. Round the bottom of this bay was a track of low land that extended a considerable distance to the eastward and presented the most exuberant appearance, being well cultivated and adorned with beautiful groves of cocoa nut palms and bread fruit trees, amongst which were scattered the habitations of the natives. The whole was fertilized by two considerable streams of fresh water that emptied into the bottom of the bay. One of these we were told had seldom less depth than 8 or 9 feet water, though it was shallow at the entrance on account of the surf banking up the sand.

KAMEHAMEHA REQUIRES HIGH PRIEST'S CONSENT IN ORDER TO LEAVE.

During the night we stood off and on under an easy sail, with the king and all his attendants on board, as it was their intention to go with us next day to Kealakekua after adjusting some necessary forms on shore. For when it was found that we could not stop at Waiakea, Captain Vancouver was very urgent in importuning Kamehameha to accompany us to the lee side of the island, as he conceived his presence would contribute much to preserve a good understanding between us and the natives, and to procure a regular supply of refreshments, which we stood much in need of. The king consented and seemed willing to go himself, but said that he could not quit the district without first consulting and obtaining leave of the high priest.

January 10th. This kept us plying off and on the bay the most part of the 10th. The weather was lowering, dark and cloudy, with some showers of rain, which seemed to

fall very heavy in shore.. The wind too was from the northward and northwest quarter, threatening to blow fresh and accompanied with a high rough sea which rendered our situation very unpleasant.

A messenger was sent on shore to the high priest, whose consent we had no doubt was a matter of form, and the business being thus adjusted, we bore up at four in the afternoon and made sail round the east end of the island with the king and several of his attendants on board.. We continued pursuing our course all night along the south side of the island with a fresh breeze from the N.E.

THE GODDESS PELE ACTIVE.

January 11th. Next morning we found ourselves off the south point of the island and as we were standing in towards it with a light breeze in the forenoon, we had a good prospect of what we conceived to be a fresh eruption of a volcano in the low grounds towards the east end of the island, which we had passed in the night time unnoticed. It appeared in several columns of smoke, etc., of different dimensions contiguous to one another, thrown up with great force to a considerable height in the air and forming a very dark cloud that hovered over the place. The summit of Mauna Loa was seen at the same time checkered pretty low down with snow. About noon we had some rain with light fluctuating wind and cloudy weather. Being then near the shore, Mr. Whidbey was sent in the cutter to examine a bay on the west side of the south point, but such was the rough sea and rolling swell into it that he was unable to accomplish his object.

We met a fishing party off this point in a few single canoes. With these Kamehameha sent his orders on shore for some hogs to be brought off to us, which was instantly obeyed.

As the wind was from the N.W. quarter and a pretty fresh breeze, we plyed against it all night without gaining much ground.

January 12th. Our distance from the land on the morning of the 12th was pretty considerable and as we stood in for it in the forenoon, some canoes came off to us. From these we understood that it was a taboo day on shore, on which account we could expect no refreshments. The latitude observed at noon was 18 deg. 56 min. when the south point bore by compass S. 80 E. and the S.W. point N. 22 W. We had light airs and calms all day with slight showers of rain in the evening, so that our progress towards our intended port was very inconsiderable, which induced Captain Vancouver in the evening to send off a messenger to Kealakekua for John Young to come off to us to prevail on the natives to break through their taboo and bring us off a supply of hogs.

THE "LADY WASHINGTON."

January 13th. In the forenoon of the 13th, John Young came on board and brought a complimentary letter from a Mr. Howell⁹⁸ who lived on shore at Kealakekua under the protection of our old friend Keawe-a-heulu, chief of the district.⁹⁹ Several canoes were about us and the natives brought off a good supply of vegetables but no hogs, which it seems were interdicted by a general taboo, the meaning of which we could not comprehend, but we found that it also prevented the women from visit-

⁹⁸An ex-Church of England clergyman, who had drifted to the islands. He was known as "Padre" Howell. For further particulars about Howell, see article in Thrum's "Hawaiian Annual" for 1911 entitled, "First Clergyman in Hawaii."

⁹⁹When the Rev. Wm. Ellis, in company with several American missionaries, visited Kaawaloa in 1823, Keawe-a-heulu had passed away and had been succeeded by his son Naihe.

ing us. Having but light fluctuating wind all day, we made but slow advance, and it was near ten at night when we got into Kealakekua Bay followed by the Chatham and Daedalus. We came to an anchor in 21 fathoms sandy bottom nearly in our old berth. The outer points of the bay bore S. 12 W. and N. 82 W. We found here the Lady Washington, snow, under American colors, commanded by Mr. Kendrick. She had been on the N. W. Coast last summer collecting furs, and meant to return again in the spring to complete her cargo. It was in this vessel that Mr. Howell came from China, with an intent to remain some time at these islands, and for this purpose he had now taken up his abode on shore..

MORE CATTLE AND SHEEP LANDED.

January 14th. The three vessels moored early on the 14th and began to unbend their sails and unreef the running rigging to overhaul it.

The cattle and sheep brought from California were landed. These consisted of a bull and two cows, with two bull calves, three rams and three ewes, which with the number that were landed last year, we have no doubt but that the whole group of islands will in the course of a few years be well stocked with these useful animals.¹⁰⁰

It has been already noticed that of the black cattle we brought here last year from California, none of the bulls survived. It was therefore considered as a fortunate circumstance that we were this year so successful as to land three of them, who were likely to do well. I am confident that success in transporting these animals to distant re-

¹⁰⁰These animals were tabooed or kapued by Kamehameha for a period of years. The cattle increased rapidly in the mountains, over which they roamed at will.

gions will always depend in a great measure on embarking them in a young state when they will become more readily reconciled to the vessel and may easily be brought to feed on any kind of food that is offered to them, of which the following circumstance affords a curious instance.

THE FIRST CALF BORN ON THE ISLANDS.

One of the cows we left here last year proved to be in calf and calved some time after our departure. The natives were so elated at this unexpected circumstance and so anxious that the sovereign who was then at Hilo, near the east end of the island, should see it, that they immediately bundled the young calf upon a man's back, and carried it from this side across the island in a journey of several days, during which they fed it with fish and water. With this unnatural food the animal has been reared without the least aid from its mother, and they assured us that it was at this time very fat and doing well. We endeavoured to impress upon their minds the impropriety of separating it from its mother, who was fully capable of rearing it had it been suffered to remain with her. We also pointed out to them the absolute necessity of suffering all cattle to live together at one place in quietness for the purpose of breeding and rearing their young, and not to kill or dispose of any of them at least for some years till they became more numerous, and whenever they separated any from them for the purpose of supplying distant plantations or other islands, to be careful that they properly paired them or at least accompanied them with a bull.

NATIVES GENERALLY FRIENDLY TOWARDS EACH OTHER..

In the afternoon we were surrounded by a numerous

group of canoes, amongst which a serious quarrel took place between two of the natives that terminated in exchanging blows. But the rest of the natives interfered, and the king himself exercised his authority from the ship in making them desist, by which they were soon separated and each sent on shore guarded, till the cause of the quarrel should be investigated in a more legal manner. This is more particularly mentioned as among the various scenes of noise, bustle and confusion to which we have often been eye witnesses during our different visits to these islands, we seldom observed among the lower order of the people even the appearance of an angry look toward one another, far less of threats and quarrels, and that degrading practice of fighting so often observable in the ports of civilized nations. These islanders, being of a mild even temper, their deportment towards one another is in general the most friendly imaginable.

MESSRS. KENDRICK AND HOWELL.

We had a visit from Mr. Kendrick, commander of the snow, and Mr. Howell, both of whom were invited to dine next day with Captain Vancouver, and along with them came on board our old friend Keawe-a-heulu, chief of the district of Kona.

KAMEHAMEHA AGAIN ACTS AS PURVEYOR.

January 15th. The king had before our arrival in the bay appointed a chief to remain on board each vessel to take care of them and prevent any misunderstanding between us and the natives, and he particularly requested that we should not barter for provisions like other vessels, but that he would himself undertake to be our purveyor and supply us with every refreshment we stood in need of dur-

ing our stay. His generous offer was accepted of, but a general taboo which had been on for some days prevented any regular supply till the 15th when three large canoes came into the bay loaded with hogs and about thirty loaded with vegetables for the three vessels.

Keeaumoku and his wife Namahana hearing of our arrival hastened from the northward and came this day into the bay to pay us a visit, and no doubt the king was with us in expectation of seeing their daughter.. But to their grief and disappointment they learned that she was left at Hilo in disgrace, on which account the meeting between them and Kamehameha was but a very cool one as might naturally be expected.

MENZIES, THE FIRST WHITE MAN TO REACH THE
TOP OF MAUNA HUALALAI. HE CONSULTS
WITH KAMEHAMEHA ABOUT
PROPOSED TRIP.

January 15th. Being very desirous of examining the mountains and interior parts of the island for plants and other natural productions, and particularly for making a good collection of seeds to send home for his Majesty's gardens¹⁰¹ by the *Daedalus*, I this day consulted with Kamehameha for that purpose. He not only complied with my request but very obligingly promised that I should be attended by a chief who would have sufficient power to protect me from ill treatment and provide whatever provisions and other attendance I should want in my journey. But before he could give the necessary orders, he wished to know what part of the island I meant to visit. When I told him that I proposed to ascend if possible a considerable

¹⁰¹Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, England

mountain of conic form called Hualalai, situated a little to the southward of Kawaihae Bay, he then fixed on a chief named Haalou, who had the charge of his own plantations at the village of Honuaula, on the seaside near the foot of that mountain, to which place he advised me as the best mode to go by water in one of his canoes, and that there I should be supplied with everything necessary for the journey. Haalou being at this time alongside the ship, he called him in and gave him a most solemn charge of me and everything I should carry with me, declaring to him that he should suffer for it most severely if I should have occasion to prefer any complaints against him on my return. The business being thus settled, Kamehameha turned round to me and asked for the use of my cabin while I should be away, and though I strongly suspected that he only wanted it for intriguing with the court ladies, yet I delivered him the key of it when I left the ship, with which he was highly pleased.

While I was preparing for this journey Mr. Swaine and two or three of the midshipmen¹⁰² proposed to accompany me, and I was very happy in having the pleasure of their society. Mr. Howel expressed himself to the same purpose.

SETS OUT IN CANOE AND CALLS AT KEAUHOU.

January 16th. Everything being ready, we set out from the vessels in the forenoon of the 16th in company with Keeaumoku and his wife in a large double canoe, followed by Haalou and our attendants in another. As we were passing the village of Kaawaloa, we were joined by Mr. Howell and his attendants in his own canoe. After this we proceeded to the northward close along the shore for about four or five miles from Kealakekua when we entered a

¹⁰²One of these midshipmen was T. Heddington, whose sketches of Hualalai crater and other scenes appear in the published account of Vancouver's voyage.

small cove surrounded by a scattered village belonging to Keeaumoku. In this cove we found the American schooner,¹⁰³ which the natives had captured, belonging to Mr. Medcalf. She was secured and housed over to preserve her from the weather, but we did not examine her condition very closely for fear of giving offence. They told us that she made a great deal of water, which they were obliged to pump out daily, otherwise that she would sink.

VISITS THE SICK SON OF KEEAUMOKU.

The reason of our putting in here was at the earnest request of Keeaumoku and his wife, who were desirous of my visiting a sickly son of theirs about 25 years of age,¹⁰⁴ to administer if possible to his relief. But I was sorry to find him so far gone that it was not in my power to be of any real service to him, for he was so emaciated, low and hectic that it was not likely he would survive it many days. This deplorable state was occasioned from a wound he received about two or three months ago by a spear which entered the side of his neck, a little above the right clavicle, and took a slanting direction downward on the inside of that bone. From that wound there was now a very serious discharge. What rendered the case still more distressing, this wound was inflicted while he and another man were throwing spears at one another in the way of exercise and diversion. Yet for this mere accident, the unfortunate man who hove the spear, being a common person, was put to death.

¹⁰³"The Fair American."

¹⁰⁴In addition to Queen Kaahumanu and the sick son mentioned in narrative, two other children of Keeaumoku and Namahana were Kua-kini (alias John Adams), who became governor of the island of Hawaii, and Pila (w.), a well-known chiefess. Keeaumoku's nickname was "Ka aama kualenalena," "the yellow-backed crab," which he acquired at the battle of Mokuahae.

FIRST CHARCOAL MADE ON HAWAII.

We met here a seaman who had landed some time before from an American vessel, and as Mr. Kendrick had no coals for working his forge on board the *Lady Washington*, this man employed himself in making charcoal for him up in the woods, and he was laying up a store for any other vessel that might touch here and be in want of such an article. This was a useful hint for the natives, not only in working up their own iron with greater facility, but likewise as a new article of traffic, of which they eagerly availed themselves. For on our coming into Kealakekua Bay this time, we were quite surprized to see the natives bring alongside of our vessels quantities of charcoal to dispose of. This man chose a delightful situation for his dwelling, which was kept neat and clean; and from which he had a commanding prospect of the village and cove¹⁰⁵ underneath him, of a large extent of country on both sides and of the boundless ocean before him. We dined with him on roasted pork, roasted fowls and vegetables in a very comfortable manner, as he had taught the natives who attended him to cook and serve up his victuals in the English style. After dinner we entertained him with a glass of grog, to which he said he had long been a stranger. This induced us to spare him a little of our stock at parting, when he gave us an earnest commission to send him some more, and likewise some tobacco, as soon as we returned to the vessels.

After condoling with our friend Keeaumoku on the deplorable condition of his son, we took leave of him, when he earnestly requested that if we should chance to pass through any of his plantations, to demand in his name whatever we wanted, for which purpose he sent with us a person duly,

¹⁰⁵Keauhou.

authorized. We understood that his daughter, the queen,¹⁰⁶ had arrived this day at an adjacent village, where her mother went to receive her.

KAILUA.

In the cool of the evening we embarked with Haalou in one of the king's large double canoes and proceeded along the shore to the northward till we came to Kailua Bay in the bottom of which we landed in the dusk of the evening at the village of Honuaula, under the noisy acclamations of a numerous group of men, women and children, who expressed their joy by singing, dancing and capering before us in such a frantic manner that it was with great difficulty the chief could clear an avenue through them while he conducted us to a large house belonging to Kamehameha, which we were happy to find was within a tabooed space, so that we soon got clear of their teasing curiosity and enjoyed our evening's repast and night's repose in quietness. The chief, however, was up most part of the night preparing for our journey, as we were next day to begin our ascent, and as it was likely we should be some days in the mountains, it was necessary to provide provisions of every kind, with a quantity of cloth and mats to lie on at night and men to carry the whole. So that the collecting and arranging of these matters was a weighty business on Haalou's mind.

MENZIES' BAROMETER.

As I was desirous of ascertaining the height of the mountain we were going to ascend, I brought with me for that purpose a kind of portable barometer for which I am entirely indebted to the liberality of Colonel Gordon at the Cape of Good Hope. That gentleman, hearing when we

¹⁰⁶Kaahumanu.

touched there that we had no portable barometer on board for ascertaining the height of any mountain that might be ascended during the voyage, presented me in the most generous manner with his own, which he had long been in the habit of using in the interior parts of Africa, and which had travelled with him in his interesting journeys through that country for many, many hundred leagues. The simplicity of its contrivance and the ease with which it is carried and managed may probably render it preferable on such occasions to a more expensive instrument, which in ascending pathless, rugged mountains is so liable to be broke. I shall therefore subjoin a short account of it, leaving the reader to judge of the probable degree of accuracy of the observations made with it at different heights, both in this and subsequent journey to the summit of Mauna Loa.

It consists of a simple straight glass tube about three feet long, filled with mercury, which is secured by a small stopper and a piece of soft leather tied over the end of it. This tube, together with a brass scale of about the same length, divided and subdivided into inches and tenths, are carried in a small wooden case lined with cloth, where the scale is fastened, but the tube has a little play, and a few ounces of mercury are to be carried in a stone or wooden bottle, which completes the apparatus.

For observing with this instrument, the mercury in the bottle is to be poured into a small open cup. After the stopper is taken out of the tube, the vacancy in it is to be filled up brimfull with mercury, then with a finger placed over the mouth of the tube, that end of it is to be inverted into the mercury in the cup, taking care not to withdraw the finger until it is immersed. The mercury in the tube will then instantly fall down to its proper height according to the pressure or weight of the atmosphere on its external

surface at the time and place of observation. All that is further necessary to be done is to hold the tube upright and measure with the brass scale the exact length of the column of mercury in the tube above the surface of the mercury in the cup, which will give the true height of the barometer at each station.

I had but only one tube which I was fortunate enough to preserve whole in my different journeys, but to guard against accidents several of these tubes may be closely packed in the same case by rolling each of them up in a piece of cloth, and it is almost needless to observe that in carrying them the stopper ends should be kept uppermost. This case may be slung on a man's back and carried with ease and safety over the most rugged mountains.

SETS OUT FROM HONUAULA.

January 17th. On the morning of the 17th we had a good deal of difficulty in getting the party ready and collecting together the provisions for the journey, which consisted of live hogs, poultry, taro, yams, cocoanuts, and dried fish in quantities that loaded upwards of 20 men, but it was hardly possible to ascertain the number of carriers attached to the party, as they were sent on before and in different directions to collect their loads, with orders either to follow us or meet us on the way. There were others appointed to carry our luggage. One carried a kettle, another a gridiron, and a third took charge of our liquor case. Among other appointments we found that each of us had a man whose sole business was to carry the cloths and mats for sleeping on, spread the couch at night and roll it up again in the morning. In short, there was no end to these various appointments where the claimants for service were so numerous. Many of them were, however, unwilling to

load themselves, but merely took some little thing or other that they might be considered as belonging to the party; and by that means be allowed to accompany us. There was no possibility of making any retrenchments respecting them while we were in the midst of such bustle and confusion, and surrounded by such a numerous crowd of the natives. We therefore set out in the forenoon in the best manner we could for the mountain of Hualalai, which was directly back from the village. But before our departure, I observed the barometer close to the seaside, where I found it stood at 30.10 in. and the thermometer in the shade was 81 degs.

We commenced our march with a slow pace, exposed to the scorching heat of the meridian sun, over a dreary barren track of a gradual ascent, consisting of little else than rugged porous lava and volcanic dregs, for about three miles, when we entered the bread fruit plantations whose spreading trees with beautiful foliage were scattered about that distance from the shore along the side of the mountain as far as we could see on both sides. Here the country began to assume a pleasant and fertile appearance through which we continued our ascent for about two miles further, surrounded by plantations of the esculent roots and vegetables of the country, industriously cultivated, till we came to the uppermost village consisting of a few scattered huts, where we were importuned by our conductor Haalou to take up our abode for the night. Though it was early in the afternoon and we were impatient to go on as far as we could with daylight, yet we were obliged to comply with his request, as he wanted, he said, to muster his party and make up any deficiencies in our stock of provisions before we quitted the plantations. It also gave him time to send messengers back to Honuaula for whatever was forgot or wanted. From this place we had a delightful view of the

scattered villages and shore underneath us, and of the luxuriant plantations around us. But a thick cloud enveloped the mountain and woods above us, from which, in the evening, we had some light refreshing showers of rain.

January 18th. Next morning the clouds dispersed and we had a fine prospect over the woods of the naked peak of Hualalai, which did not appear to be further from us in a direct line than the village we left behind at the seaside. This gave us fresh spirits and we set out pretty early in expectation of soon accomplishing our object in gaining the summit of it. After going on about two miles by a narrow path through an uncultivated track, overgrown with ferns and small bushes, we entered the forest, the verge of which was adorned with rich and fruitful plantations of bananas and plantains, from which we supplied ourselves with a good stock for our journey. We then penetrated the wood by a winding path so narrow that we could only follow one another's track. In this manner we proceeded for about three miles when we came to a resting place, where we kindled a fire and breakfasted. Here I observed the barometer about nine in the morning, when I found the mercury stood at 27.5 in., so that it had fallen by our ascent since it was observed yesterday morning 2.75 in., which gave our height at this station about 2,600 feet above the level of the sea. The thermometer, which was observed at the time we set out in the morning to be 61 degs., was now at 59 degs., which showed that we had already changed our temperature of climate 22 degrees from what it was at the seaside..

Having rested ourselves a little after breakfast, we proceeded on our journey by the same circuitous path in the woods for about 8 or 9 miles according to our estimation, when we came to the termination of the path, where we

found a small hut that appeared to have been lately occupied by some of the natives, who had been thus far up the mountain felling trees and shaping them out in the rough for canoes, planks and other purposes. As it is always necessary to make a path for dragging these down to the sea side, this appeared the farthest extent they had yet penetrated up the mountain for timber. Here we were advised by our guide to stop for the night, as many of the party who were under heavy burdens, he said, lagged behind and were so tired that they could not proceed further without some refreshments and a night's rest. Besides, he assured us that we were near the upper edge of the wood and would with ease reach the top of the mountain next forenoon. We therefore stayed, though the afternoon was not far advanced, and as the party collected, they in a short time erected a village of small huts to shelter themselves and us comfortably for the night.

Since we entered the wood in the morning, our view was limited by a continued dense forest of trees, bushes and tall ferns on both sides of the path that we saw neither the sea nor the mountain, though the day was quite clear and serene all the time. In many places we found the wood had been thinned by the natives having cut down the larger trees for various purposes. This afforded me a good opportunity to botanize as we came along, by keeping several of the natives employed on both sides of the path in bringing me branches of whatever tree, bush or plant they could find either in flower or seed.

We observed here and there on the path little maraes, pointed out by taboo sticks stuck in the ground round a bush or under a tree. In passing these places the natives always muttered a prayer or hymn, and made some offering, as they said, to their akua, by leaving a little piece of fruit,

vegetable or something or other at these consecrated spots. Even in this distant solitary hut, we found a corner of it consecrated by one of these taboo sticks which the natives earnestly requested us not to remove when we took possession of it, and we very strictly obeyed their injunction, conceiving that religious forms whatever they are, ought to be equally inviolable everywhere. For the untutored savage in worshipping his God in a gloomy forest may be equally sincere in his prayer and derive equal consolation from his religion, at the awful moment of dissolution, with the enlightened European who habitually bends his knees before the rich altar and offers up his devotion in a splendid temple.

Finding we were so near accomplishing our object, a messenger was dispatched to Kealakekua at five in the evening to make our progress known at the vessels and to bring from thence some little things we wanted to render our situation more comfortable in the mountain.

In the morning the thermometer stood at 58 degs, and I was at first much surprized to find the temperature so nearly the same as it was at the lower part of the wood in the morning, though we had ascended since that time upwards of 4,000 feet in perpendicular height. It is probable that this is owing to the strong and constant exhalations from the forest in the daytime, which, by keeping up a cool, fanning air among the boughs of the trees might tend greatly to diffuse the same temperature even at different heights throughout the woody regions of these mountains. But even when this cause ceased at night and a heavy dew or small rain produced a contrary operation amongst the aggregate assemblage of vegetables in these forests, the temperature was found next mornng to be very different, for the mercury in the thermometer was so low as 43 degs. at half past seven, which showed a difference of about 16 degs. be-

tween the extremes of what may be termed the temperate zone of these mountains. Hence it appears how necessary it is to attend to different circumstances in drawing conclusions from meteorological observations.

January 19th. As our curiosity was so much upon the edge and our anxiety so eager to gain the summit of the mountain, we set out pretty early on the 19th, even contrary to the wishes of our guide and the rest of the natives, who, notwithstanding large fires being kept up, were continually coughing the whole night and complained so much of the cold that they were unwilling to stir till the day advanced. And well they might, for besides the effect of the damp chilly air of the forest, we had already changed our temperature near 40 degrees by the thermometer, since we set out from the seaside, in the space of little more than as many hours.

MENZIES THE FIRST TO REACH THE TOP.

The forest here being thinner and less encumbered with ferns and underwood, we set out with a few attendants to direct our course, as there was no path, and in about half an hour we got out at the upper edge of the wood, where we saw the summit of our mountain at no great distance. The grass here was covered with a heavy dew, partaking a great deal of the nature of hoar frost, which was so chilly and pinching to the bare feet of the natives that they could not endure it, but were obliged to stop and kindle a fire till the influence of the sun had reached them. We therefore left them to follow us when they could, and continued our ascent up the peak, which was steep and rugged, but thinly covered with grasses and little thickets of low shrubs. These may be considered as the Alpine plants of this country, most of which were entirely new to me, and although there

were but few of them in flower, yet their variety and the novelty of the track gave new life to my steps and led me on as it were imperceptibly up the steep, that I was the first who reached the summit of the peak exactly at half past eight, the rest of the gentlemen followed me pretty close, and by ten the whole party crowded the lofty top of Hualalai.

As I had observed a number of idlers amongst our party who were unwilling to load themselves, I took the opportunity as the party arrived upon the hill to mark all those who were well loaded, by tying a piece of variegated tape round the arm of each as a badge of distinction, telling them at the same time that on producing these badges on our arrival at Kealakekua, they should be well paid for their service, while those who brought up but small loads would receive but little. This induced several of the idlers to return back again to the plantations for loads, and as they arrived with them each had a similar badge, but if any of the party after this had misbehaved or was not sufficiently careful of what was entrusted to his charge, he was discarded by taking his badge from him. This produced an emulation to please among the party which had a wonderful good effect during the remainder of our expedition.

EXTENSIVE VIEW FROM TOP.

The day being clear and serene when we arrived upon the top of the mountain, the extensive and interesting prospect which rushed upon our sight on every side may be more easily conceived than described. The whole western side of Hawaii lay beneath us with its indented shore. Bays, villages, plantations and forests depicted as it were like a map upon the vast sheet of extended ocean before us, while fleecy clouds hovering at a distance appeared like an

immense extent of frozen country with towering mountains and deep valleys of softest shades, every moment varying their aerial shapes and situations, and presenting the most beautiful prospects of picturesque scenery over which the eye could eagerly wander without weariness, and continue imparting to the mind new felt pleasures. In the afternoon these clouds drew in towards the island and bedewed it these refreshing showers of rain. To the N.N.W. of us we had a distinct view of the island of Maui, but the other adjacent islands were obscured with clouds. On the other side, the inland country presented extensive valleys and two immense high rugged mountains, capped with perpetual snow. Of these Mauna Kea is the most rugged and peaked. It bore E.N.E. of us, while Mauna Loa is an immense flat cone, and bore S.E. by E. of us, seemingly at no great distance, but we believe that the rarification of the air at this height made it appear to us much nearer than it really was.

SUMMIT CRATER.

After kindling a fire and partaking of some refreshment, the natives took us to see the crater of a volcano on the north side of the peak, a little below the summit. It formed a rugged hole of seven or eight yards in diameter and of immense depth. So much so, that when a stone was thrown into it, its noise was heard in its descent striking against the sides for some time after, and it did not appear to have been long extinguished, as the ashes and cinders round the mouth of it were quite fresh.

OFFERINGS TO THE FIRE GOD.

We found that the natives regarded volcanoes as the habitations of evil spirits who, when anywise engaged, vomit up fire and hot stones, and to appease their wrath they conceive it necessary to make some offerings to these demons.

by throwing cloth, hogs and vegetables into the volcano, and on particular occasions we understand that they even sacrifice their criminals by disposing of them in the same manner. In this visit to the crater we observed that none of the natives went empty-handed, but carried pieces of taro, yams, plantains, etc., to make offerings, which they threw down at the mouth of the crater among other rotten remains of such offerings where they earnestly requested us to leave something too, which we did, such as beads, nails and pieces of tape, which highly pleased them, and they seemed to think that such offerings would be highly acceptable.

January 19th and 20th. We stayed this and the following day on the mountain, traversing the peak in various directions, everyone pursuing his own amusement and making the summit our place of rendezvous where we met at meal times, and reposed at night in small caverns which the natives soon converted into neat and comfortable habitations for us by thatching the exposed parts of them with plantain leaves, loads of which had been brought up from the lower parts of the wood for that purpose, and by strewing the bottom of them over with grass overlaid with mats. What with the pure air, the temperate climate and novelty of the situation, everyone allowed that two days more pleasantly spent they seldom experienced.

MENZIES BOTANIZES.

In my rambles I collected every plant I met with in flower or seed, which I was sorry to find did not amount to a very numerous catalogue on account of the dormant state of vegetation in these upper regions at this season of the year. But from the variety I saw of small plants and low shrubs in appearance quite new to me, I consider this peak

as a very interesting tract for a botanist to explore in the summer months, when I have no doubt every steep and cleft will be adorned with plants innumerable. Among the plants in flower at this time was the *Sophora tetraptera*,¹⁰⁷ which did not exceed the size of a small shrub, though lower down the mountain and particularly on some of the other islands it grows to a pretty large tree, from the wood of which the natives informed me they make their spears and from the fine polish it bears, it almost equals in hardness and density of grain the most beautiful mahogany. The *Dodonouea viscosa*¹⁰⁸ grew here very plentifully and seemed to thrive equally well as down at the sea side, where it is not uncommon. I also found here a small shrubby geranium,¹⁰⁹ quite a new species, and I believe the only one of that genus which has hitherto been found in any of the islands of the Pacific ocean.

At both noons I observed the barometer on the top of the mountain. The first day it stood at 22 in. 40 pts., and the second day at 22 in. 44 points. So if we take the mean of these two observations, 22 in. 42 pts. from 30 in. 10 pts., what it stood at on the sea side, the remainder, 7 in. 62 pts. is the quantity it fell or sunk in our ascent of the mountain, which will give its height 8,062 feet above the level of the sea. The thermometer observed at the time was 65 degs. on the first day and 64 degs.. on the second, and at seven on both mornings it was at 45 degs. But the first evening at sunset it was so low as 38 degs., and the second evening it stood at 41 degs., which showed in these instances that the evenings were colder than the morning, just the very reverse to what we experienced in the woody region of the mountain.

¹⁰⁷*Sophora chrysophylla*, nat. name mamani.

¹⁰⁸Nat. name, Aalu.

¹⁰⁹*Geranium cuneatum* Hook. First collected by Menzies. Another variety was afterwards named by Gray, *Geranium Menziesii*.

BEGINS THE RETURN JOURNEY.

January 21st. After breakfast on the morning of the 21st, we set out from the top of the mountain accompanied by upwards of sixty of the natives, amongst whom were some women whose curiosity led them to follow the party. We descended by a very indifferent path on the south-east side into the valley between it and Mauna Loa, as it was our intention to return to Kealakekua by an inland route in order to explore the country and vary our scenes of observation. This inland side of the mountain is but thinly wooded with scattered bushes here and there, and much more rugged and steep than the other side, for in some parts of our descent we travelled over fields of loose and peaked lava, the most dreary and rugged I ever beheld. So much so, that we conceived ourselves very fortunate with all our care and caution in getting over them without suffering any accident of broken bones. Our shoes were torn and cut to pieces by the lava that we could scarcely drag them after us, and the natives were crippled, notwithstanding they had matted for themselves a kind of sandals¹¹⁰ to defend their feet. Some of us were obliged to have recourse to the same expedient. Our cocoa nuts and water being expended before we left the top of the mountain, we suffered greatly for want of these articles in our descent in the sultry heat of the day, till we reached near the bottom, when the natives carried us a good deal out of our way to a spring where we quenched our thirst and filled our calabashes.¹¹¹ About four in the afternoon we arrived in the valley much

¹¹⁰Called by the natives "Kamaa."

¹¹¹The water was probably obtained from the cavern called Wai-kulukulu "dropping water," situated about a mile up the mountain side from the ruins of the ancient temple known as Ahua a Umi, which Menzies apparently did not visit, or at least does not mention as having seen.

fatigued, when we were conducted by our guides to a deep cavern into which we descended and found very snug quarters in separate cells for the night. None of the women durst follow us into the cavern because of a small marae which happened to be in the centre of it, where a variety of fruits and vegetables that had been offered to the Akua were in a decayed and rotten state. The natives, however, repaired it and made fresh offerings.

FIRST ATTEMPT TO CLIMB MAUNA LOA.

January 22nd. On looking up the side of Mauna Loa from this valley, the lower edge of the snow upon it did not appear to be far from us, and as the ascent seemed smooth and easy, we proposed to make an attempt to reach it, but the chief and all the rest of the natives were very much against it, declaring that if we should chance to succeed in overcoming the difficulties, the cold on the mountain was so intense as to kill us. As we however perceived no apparent obstruction in the ascent, we were resolved to try it, and for this purpose we examined the state of our provision which we found very low. But by reducing the number of our party and adopting a frugal management, there was a sufficient quantity to serve a moderate party for two days, in which time we conceived our object might be accomplished. Having therefore chosen about twenty stout able fellows with the chief to accompany us, the rest were sent down to the plantations with orders for some of them to return and meet us with a supply of provisions.

These natives having loaded themselves with our provisions and water, set out with us in the morning of the 22nd very reluctantly. After pursuing a path to the eastward through the valley for about two or three miles, we struck off to the right and began our ascent. We still perceived no apparent difficulty before us, but we soon found our mistake, and the representations of the natives verified.

For as we advanced we found the lower part of the mountain here and there copped with shrubby wood and ferns so very dense in many places that we were obliged to make a path step by step for the whole party which rendered our progress very slow and fatiguing. In some places the ground was covered over with a fragile crust of lava that broke under our feet, and we stumbled into chinks and crevasses that were really very dangerous. While in other places it sounded so hollow underneath us that we were every moment apprehensive of its breaking and swallowing us up in some hideous fissure or cavern. We persevered under these discouraging circumstances till about three in the afternoon, when perceiving that we had scarcely diminished our apparent distance from the snow, and being quite harassed with fatigue, without any prospect of soon overcoming our difficulties, it was agreed upon to relinquish our pursuit, to the no small satisfaction of the natives. After taking some refreshment, we returned to the cavern, where we arrived in the dusk of the evening. The night was very stormy, with high winds and cold showers of sleet, and next morning we observed that the mountain was covered much lower down with fresh snow, so that had we succeeded in our attempt to ascend the mountain, we should probably have suffered much from the inclemency of the weather, exposed to these rigorous blasts without any shelter on its bleak side.

THE CENTRAL PLATEAU.

January 23rd. The centre of the island between the three great mountains, together with the extensive valleys which separated them, forms a flat, dreary tract of inland country of considerable extent and nearly the same elevation, uninhabited (except some of the feathered race) and from the scantiness of the soil apparently incapable of any kind of cultivation. The trees and bushes with which it is here and there thinly scattered, indicates the poverty of

the soil by their stunted and scrubby appearance, but as the volcanic dregs with which it has been strewn from the adjacent mountains are continually mouldering away by the busy and constant operations of time, this tract may be said to be in a state of slow and progressive improvement, and future ages will probably find it clothed with a rich carpet of verdure.

To give some idea of the elevation and temperature of this inland region, I observed the barometer on the morning of the 23rd at the mouth of our cavern, where it stood at 25 in. 18 pts., and the thermometer was at the same time at 57 degs. I had also observed both in the same place on the evening of our first arrival, when the first stood at 25 in. 18 pts., and the latter at 56 degrees. So if we take the mean of these two observations with the barometer, the result will give our height at this station 4,883 feet above the level of the sea. We may consider the plain which occupies the centre of the island to be about 5,000 feet in elevation as it appeared to rise a little from our situation.

AN OVERLAND TRAIL.

After making a scanty breakfast out of the last portions of our provisions, we turned our faces homeward by a path which forms a communication by this valley from one side of the island to the other,¹¹² and the great cavern which we had just quitted, after lodging in it for two nights, may be considered as one of the inns upon the road for the accommodation of travellers passing between the west side of the island and the east end.

HAWAIIAN GOOSE AND CROW.

In this desert valley we saw some geese¹¹³ of a size some-

¹¹²The so-called "Judd Road" probably made on the line of this old footpath.

¹¹³*Bernicla sandwicensis*, or *Nesohcen sandwicensis*. Nat. name, "Nene." Domesticated specimens of this brand of goose were noticed by members of Captain Cook's crew.

what between our common geese and ducks. They were very handsome and had some distant resemblance in color to the Canadian goose, but quite a new species not yet described. We also saw some crows,¹¹⁴ which together with the preceding, we believe are peculiar to these islands and commonly inhabit these upper regions.

After travelling about four miles, we entered the woods at the mouth of the valley and began our descent in a winding direction, but as the girdle of the forest is not here so broad as on the sides of the mountain, and the path being tolerably clear, we soon got through it, as we were now anxious to get down to the plantations to satisfy the craving of both hunger and thirst. For the regions above the woods are but scantily supplied with water, many of the springs where the natives expected a supply were at this time dried up; which often occasioned a grievous disappointment, and whenever we got anything, they were themselves great devourers of this necessary article.

About the middle of the woods we met with our trusty and faithful adherents who had been sent down to the plantations the day before and were now making all the haste they could to our relief with heavy loads of provisions. As we had but a scanty meal in the morning, this supply came very seasonably, and we instantly set down and lightened their burdens by partaking of a hearty refreshment, after which we continued our descent, though now with less hurry, and when we came out of the wood we found the lower edge of it as in other places, adorned with rich plantations of plantains and bananas. From thence we pursued our course in a slanting direction to the southward, till we came to a village among the upper plantations, where we took up our residence for the night about nine or ten miles to the north-east of Kealakekua Bay, and where we were surrounded by the most exuberant fields of

¹¹⁴*Corvus Hawaiiensis*, nat. name Alala. It is found only on the kona side of the island of Hawaii.

the esculent vegetables of these islands, which for industry of cultivation and agricultural improvements could scarcely be exceeded in any country in the world, and we were happy to find their labor here rewarded by such productive crops of these vegetables.

We found that we had taken up our quarters in a plantation belonging to Keeaumoku, and as that chief had kindly requested, we now made the man he sent with us our purveyor, who readily supplied us with everything we wanted.

January 24th. At eight next morning, the thermometer was at 56 degs. and the barometer stood at 28 in. If this observation of the barometer is deduced from what it stood at the same evening at the seaside, the difference will give our height at this station, 1989 feet above the sea.

A YOUNG HULA DANCER.

After breakfast we were entertained with the performance of a young girl, who danced in a small area before our door. She was ably assisted by her father, who beat on a small drum and joined her in the singing and reciting and sometimes in a brisk dialogue, while she, encumbered as she was with a grotesque dress, traversed the area with such measured paces and fascinating movements, with such graceful attitudes and such agility and animation of acting, so punctually timed and so varied by easy transitions as would have done credit to the most expert attitudinarian in any part of the world, and far exceeded anything of the kind we had before seen at these islands. Every joint of her limbs, every finger of her hand, every muscle of her body, partook unitedly of the varied sympathetic impulses, while the motion of her eyes transferring their transient glances and the harmony of her features were beyond the power of description.

We were given to understand that this actress, who might be termed an opera girl, and her father, belonged to

a party who strolled about the country from village to village and gained their livelihood by entertaining the inhabitants with their performances. If we might judge of her merits from the specimen we had just seen of her acting, we think she was possessed of natural powers to entertain even in a more refined country.

After presenting this young actress with suitable presents of beads, looking glasses, scissors, tape and other articles, we descended through the plantations at our leisure and collected whatever flowers and seeds their interesting banks produced that we had not before met with in the journey. Our adherents who had been distinguished on the top of Hualalai, now wore their little badges around their arms and were the envied objects of every group of the natives we passed. In the evening we arrived at a village on the seaside a few miles to the northward of Kealakekua, where we stopped for the night, and where I observed the barometer at sunset close to high water mark, when the mercury stood at 30 in. 12 pts. and the thermometer was at 74 degs. This height of the mercury in the barometer coincides so nearly with what it was when we began our ascent, that the observations made with it may be considered as sufficiently accurate to give a general idea of our height at the different stations, especially as no material changes of weather happened during our excursion that were likely to affect it. But it is proper to notice that the correction for the temperature has not been allowed for in any one of these observations.

GETS BACK TO KEALAKEKUA BAY.

January 25th. Next morning, we set out for Kealakekua by land over a dreary tract of rugged lava and very uneven ground along shore till we came to the village of Kaawaloa, where we hired canoes for the whole party and arrived on board the *Discovery* about noon, when all our attendants were rewarded for their services, of which we

were able to make a very favorable report to the king. He was so pleased with our representation of their conduct that he himself fixed upon the quantity of articles to be given them as the price of their labor and good behaviour. With his own hand he laid out a small piece of iron, fashioned like a chisel, a parcel of small nails, a bunch of beads, two knives, a file, a pair of scissors, a looking glass and a few yards of tape, which was handed to each of them. But I observed that all of them gave up the last article to the king, and seemed so well satisfied with what they got that they were all desirous of setting out with us next day. The chief was presented with the same articles, but in greater proportion, together with the addition of an axe and as much red cloth as would make him a cloak. The last, however, we understood he was not suffered long to keep, but was obliged to deliver it up to the king.

On our return we found the observatory erected in the old place and the timekeepers were sent home on shore to ascertain their rate under the care of Mr. Whidbey, attended by a guard of marines.

Though the bay was daily crowded with a numerous concourse of the natives in their canoes and swimming about the vessels, yet they had behaved themselves so peaceably that the business of unloading the storeship went on here with as little hindrance or molestation as in the port of any civilized nation of the world. As none of the men but Kamameha's confidants were admitted on board either of the vessels, the several duties were carried on with ease and quietness. Unfortunately for their credit it was found that their honesty was not proof against the temptations which lay in their way, for a few days before our arrival, a priest of considerable rank who had been sent by the king on board the Chatham as a fit person to take care of her and preserve tranquillity between them and the natives, was so unlucky as to be himself detected in making free

with some loose articles for which he was immediately expelled from the vessel. And the day before our arrival some table knives were stolen out of the cabin on board the Discovery and the suspicion of the theft fell chiefly on the king's favorite aikane,¹¹⁵ in consequence of which the whole party were turned out of the ship, except the king himself, who slept on board all night and testified great uneasiness at these breaches of confidence. He sent orders on shore to search for the knives, and one of them was returned in the evening and some next day, which rendered it probable that there were more than one concerned in the theft, and rank undoubtedly screened them from being given up to punishment or made known.

A SCENE OF MOURNING.

We now learned that Keeaumoku had brought his dying son, ill as he was, to the village of Kaawaloa, where he expired about four days ago amidst a crowded multitude of some thousands of both sexes, who with the father, mother and nearest relations that on this occasion crowded close about him, were all weeping bitterly and expressing their grief in loud shrieks and lamentations fit to rend the heart of the most obdurate. In short, the whole of it is described as a scene so truly moving with the excessive bewailing of such a multitude that it must undoubtedly have added greatly to the distress of the dying chief in his last moments. But this is not all, for no sooner had the chief breathed his last than a good looking man went alongside of the Chatham apparently in great perturbation, and entreated in the most earnest manner to be admitted on board of her as his life was in danger of being sacrificed as a victim to the manes of the departed chief. This was at first treated as a fabricated story with intent either to impose on them or gain some end, and they were unwilling to give credit to it.

¹¹⁵Table companion. The word has another and baser signification.

until Isaac Davies, who had been some years on the island, and who was then on board, informed them that it was a customary thing with these natives when any great chief died to make some human sacrifices at the same time according to the rank he bore, and that those who were pitched upon for this unhuman purpose were generally the most esteemed and the most faithful adherents of the deceased. On hearing this, the man was suffered to go on board, and the relief he felt from this refuge produced it seems the most instantaneous and evident change in his countenance. After he stayed about three days on board, it appearing that the danger he apprehended for his life was over, he again went on shore. I made particular enquiry amongst the natives in order to learn if any other man was put to death upon this occasion, but I never could receive any satisfactory information, for one person affirmed it and another denied it.

For some days no occurrence happened deserving of particular notice. My own time was chiefly occupied in arranging the collections I made in my late journey and in putting up a collection of seeds to be sent home by the *Daedalus* storeship for his Majesty's gardens,¹¹⁶ reserving duplicates to be sent by any other conveyance that might occur hereafter.

KAPU DAYS DIFFER ON VARIOUS ISLANDS.

January 27th. Keeaumoku, who now became our daily visitor, told us on the evening of the 27th that he was to be tabooed next day, and as preparatory thereto he left the ship with his wife and family before sunset. All the women belonging to Kaawaloa, the village where he resided were leaving the ship and their possessions at the same time to go on shore with him, but the king laid his mandate on them to remain on board, which they readily obeyed. Keeaumoku, who was formerly a chief of Maui, still kept his kapu pule days, which we learnt were always a day earlier at all the other islands than at Hawaii, but on

¹¹⁶ Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew.

this occasion it would seem that Kamehameha did not conceive that the Hawaii women had any business to taboo themselves on his account or deprive themselves of their pleasures, except on their own kapu pule days.

KAMEEIAMOKU ARRIVES.

January 29th. On the 29th, Mr. Kendrick, commander of the *Lady Washington*, and a party of the officers and gentlemen of both vessels, went round to Keauhou to see the schooner, and next day Kaiana and Kameeiamoku arrived in the bay from the northeast side of the island. The first went immediately on his arrival to pay his respects to the king and afterwards to Capt. Vancouver, but as he was no favorite of the latter, we understood that he was but dryly received. The following day a large piece of the rock tumbled down the precipice close to us and made a dreadful crash in its fall into the water.

THE "BRITANNIA" BEGUN: FIRST SHIP BUILT IN HAWAII.

February 1st. On the 1st February the carpenters of both vessels having finished their various repairs on board, were sent on shore to build a boat for Kamehameha. Her keel was laid 29 feet long, and most of the wood had been previously prepared and brought round in canoes from Waiakea Bay by the natives under the direction of Mr. Boyd, who, as has already been mentioned, had the design of building the boat in agitation before our arrival. I landed in the forenoon at Kaawaloa, where I found Kelii-maikai, the king's brother, who just landed on his arrival from Hilo, and was received by a vast crowd of the natives expressing their affections in loud congratulations of joy, while the queen and several women of quality met him on the beach, and for some minutes bathed him in the tenderest tears of affection. The passions of joy and sorrow are always vehemently expressed by these people, and a ready tear is common to both.

CREWS ALLOWED TO TRADE.

February 2nd. Next day being Sunday, the ship's company was mustered on the quarterdeck, when leave was given them to trade for curiosities, which had hitherto been prohibited that it might not interfere with procuring of refreshments for the vessels. But as Kamehameha had taken upon himself to procure whatever supply was wanted, perhaps the precaution was less necessary.

A young chief named Kalaikualii was this day wounded on shore in firing of a musquet, which split in his hand and divided the thumb of the left hand from the forefinger, the whole length of the metacarpal bones, and carried away the ends of the two middle fingers. In this condition he was brought on board to me to have his hand dressed and bandaged up and he very carefully obeyed the directions given to him concerning it.

THE GREAT TABOO.

At this time of the year there is an annual taboo takes place which generally lasts ten days. It commenced this evening and all the natives were careful to leave the vessels and go on shore before sunset. From this time till the morning of the 4th, the taboo was so strict that neither a canoe nor native of either sex was seen on the water anywhere, though our boats were suffered to land and our people employed on shore as usual.

February 4th. On the 4th, Kamehameha and some others, who seemed as if they had dispensations for the purpose, came off to the vessels, but the taboo appeared still in force, though not so strict as on the day before. We were now told by the natives that in order to facilitate their intercourse with us, the taboo which should have lasted ten days was to be taken off at the expiration of two days, at least on this side of the island.

First Ascent of Mauna Loa by a White Man or even by a Human Being

MENZIES DECIDES TO MAKE A SECOND ATTEMPT TO SCALE MAUNA LOA.

1794. February 5th. Having by the 5th finished the letters and packages for England, and delivered them to Captain Vancouver to be forwarded in the *Daedalus* store-ship, which was on the point of sailing for New South Wales, I was desirous of making another attempt to gain the summit of Mauna Loa. For this purpose, I consulted with Kamehameha, not only on the means, but likewise on the best route for accomplishing such an object, when he assured me that the most likely way of succeeding was to ascend it from the south side of the island, to which I must go by water in one of his canoes, and that he should take care to send with me a chief well acquainted with the proper route, who should possess sufficient authority to protect me from any ill usage in the journey and have ample power to secure provisions, attendants or whatever else should be found necessary to accomplish so arduous an undertaking. With such flattering attention from the king and such prospect as he represented of succeeding, I readily accepted his generous offer and cheerfully consigned myself to the care and guidance of Luhea, the chief whom he now appointed to conduct the expedition, and to whom he delivered the strictest injunctions respecting his charge. The business being thus far settled, we prepared for our departure on the following day. In the meantime, Lieut.

Baker and Mr. McKenzie¹¹⁷ of the *Discovery*, and Mr. Heddington¹¹⁸ of the *Chatham*, expressed their desire to share in the pleasures as well as in the fatigues and hardships of this enterprise.

LANDS AT HONAUNAU.

February 6th. Being all equipped, we set out from the vessels in the afternoon of the 6th of February with the chief and about 20 paddlers in a large double canoe belonging to the king. Before we left the bay we were joined by Mr. Howell,¹¹⁹ who was to accompany us in another double canoe with his own attendants. We now proceeded together along shore to the southward for about four miles from Kealakekua, when we came to the village of Honaunau,¹²⁰ where we landed for the night. We expressed our desire of going further on, but the chief told us there was not a place at the next village to accommodate so large a party, for which reason he wished us to remain here all night.

February 7th. Next day we embarked again by daylight in the two canoes, and got but a short distance when we came opposite to a small village¹²¹ where the chief wanted us to land to breakfast, but this we overruled by declaring we were not hungry, as we wished to get on as far as we could in the cool of the morning. The next stage was, however, such a long one that we afterwards regretted not having taken his advice, for the coast was so dreary and rocky and the shore so steep and rugged that we found

¹¹⁷Third Lieut. Joseph Baker and Midshipman George McKenzie of the *Discovery*.

¹¹⁸Midshipman Thomas Heddington or Haddington of the *Chatham*.

¹¹⁹"Padre" Howell, see ante.

¹²⁰Honaunau, the site of a celebrated puuhonua or city of refuge; also of the Hale o Keawe, a building wherein the bones of many former ruling chiefs of western Hawaii were kept.

¹²¹Hookena?

no place where we could land till it was near noon, when we entered a small bay surrounded at the bottom by a sandy beach and groves of cocoanut trees well cropped with fruit.

HONOMALINO.

Here we landed at a small village called Honomalino, where the king ordered us to be supplied with a stock of cocoanuts for our journey and upwards of 200 of them were packed up for that purpose, the greatest part of which were sent on men's backs across the side of the mountain to meet us in our ascent on the other side.

After refreshing and resting ourselves in the heat of the day, we were anxious to proceed again in the cool of the evening, but the natives informed us that there was too much wind to get round the next point with the canoes, so that we were obliged to remain here for the night.

FISHERMEN DRIVE HARD BARGAINS.

The country round us at this place was so rugged and dreary and barren that the natives are obliged to depend a good deal upon the sea for their sustenance. When the fishing canoes came into the bay in the evening, we had an opportunity of observing their manner of traffic with one another, as the whole village and people even from other villages flocked about them and a brisk market was kept up till they disposed of all their fish for small nails and bits of iron, and sometimes we observed that they drove very hard bargains. Of these nails the fishermen make their fish hooks, and no doubt are obliged in their turn to purchase potatoes, yams, cloth, etc., from the planters. Thus we find that nails and bits of iron here answer all the purpose of money and circulate amongst the natives in the same way that gold and silver does with us.

The coast here is composed of huge masses of rocky lava, so porous and cavernous that the sea pervades it and renders all the springs of water in the low ground and about

the villages so brackish, that we were obliged to send four or five miles up the country for good water, yet such is the force of habit that the natives could use this brackish water very freely.

February 8th. At eight next morning I observed the barometer at high water mark, where I found the mercury stood at 30 in. 15 pts. and the thermometer was at the same time 74 degs.

Before I left the Discovery, I compared my barometer with the marine barometer on board, and found them to agree in height pretty nearly. It was therefore settled on to register the height of the marine barometer in Kealakekua Bay every two hours, between eight in the morning and six in the evening daily during my absence, and at one or other of these hours I was to make my observations at the different stations on the mountains. By taking afterwards the difference of the corresponding observations made at the same instant of time, the result would certainly prove more accurate than the mode I adopted in my former journey, more especially in case of any particular change of weather taking place while we were ascending the mountain.

After the whole party had breakfasted, we left Honomalino in our canoes about nine in the morning and soon after passed the western part of the island, which is a dreary tract of the most rugged rocks of lava scattered here and there with some fishermen's huts.

MANU-KA VILLAGE.

About noon we came to a small village named Manu-Ka where we found our chief Luhea's residence, and where we landed before his house at a small gap between rugged precipices against which the surges dashed and broke with such violence and agitation and with such horrific appearance, that even the idea of attempting chilled us with the utmost dread. We however quietly submitted ourselves to their guidance, and were highly pleased to see the extra-

ordinary dexterity with which they managed this landing. Having placed their canoe in readiness before the gap, they watched attentively for a particular surge which they knew would spend itself or be overcome in the recoil of preceding surges before it could reach the rocks, and with this surge they dashed in, landed us upon a rock from which we scrambled up the precipice, and in an instant about 50 or 60 of the natives at the word of command shouldered the canoe with everything in her and clambering up the rugged steep, lodged her safely in a large canoe house upon the brink of the precipice, to our utmost astonishment.¹²² The other canoe was landed in the same manner, and as the chief had some arrangements to make, we were obliged in compliance with his request, to remain at this dreary-looking place all night. A situation more barren and rugged can scarcely be imagined. The kind civilities and good treatment received from the natives were, however, unremitting. Here, as if to make amends for the dreariness of the situation, they particularly exerted themselves by every means in their power to amuse and entertain us. The chief and his people were equally eager and attentive in doing little acts of kindness and thereby assiduously displaying their unbounded hospitality.

BOUNDARY MARK BETWEEN KONA AND KA-U DISTRICTS.

On seeing near the village a large pile of stones, built regularly up in a square form on the brink of the shore, curiosity prompted us to enquire what was the intent of it, when they informed us that it was erected to mark out the limits between the two districts of Kona and Ka-u, by which

¹²²Rev. W. Ellis, in his "Tour Through Hawaii," made twenty-nine years after Menzies' visit, describes this method of landing canoes on the rocky coast of Hawaii. See also illustrated article in Thrum's Annual for 1910. "Canoeing Off the Coast of Puna, Hawaii," where pictures are given of the method used by the Hawaiians in lifting up and launching their canoes on the steep rocky coasts of Hawaii.

we found out that we had reached the southern limits of Kona.

HAWAIIAN MERMAIDS.

In the afternoon our attention was at one time directed to a number of young women who stripped themselves quite naked upon the summit of a pending cliff, and taking a short run, vaulted one after another from the brink of it headlong into the sea regardless of the foamed and agitated appearance of that element, and as it were setting its wildest commotions at defiance. For at this time the surf ran very high, and dashed with furious force against the cliff, yet they dexterously disentangled themselves, and clambered up the rock again, repeated their leaps several times with seeming satisfaction, till they were quite fatigued. The cliff was at least thirty feet high, and so very rugged with peaked rocks, which were now and then deluged with a boisterous surf, that to look down the precipice was enough to intimidate anyone not accustomed to such extraordinary feats of activity.

The chief here packed up a quantity of dried fish¹²³ to be carried with us, and presented each of us with a mat and a quantity of island cloth to lay on at night during our journey.

February 9th. After an early breakfast on the morning of the 9th, we were again launched in our canoes and proceeded to the southward, keeping close along shore within the recoil of the surges, where the water is much agitated, they conceive less danger of swamping, as their canoes are much more lively upon it than further out at sea. Yet notwithstanding our great confidence in their dexterity and management, we could hardly divest our minds of the idea of danger when beholding every moment the

¹²³Opelu (mackerel) or akule (big-eyed scad).

boisterous surges dashing with such furious violence against the rugged and cavernous cliffs high over our heads and threatening us, as it were, every instant with overwhelming destruction. Nor were the appearances of the surges breaking on the other side of us at times less awful, as they threatened to deluge and waft us in their foaming course to the rocks. We, however, got through this wild navigation with no other inconvenience than that of our apprehensions and getting all very wet.

This part of the coast is a dreary rugged tract composed of black porous rock of lava forming here and there grotesque arches, vaults and deep caverns into which the sea pushes in by the violence and agitation of the waves with great force, and frequently gushes up again several yards inland through chinks and crevices with a hissing noise into the form of fountains, which in sunshine reflect all the colors of the rainbow. These often riveted our attention as we went along and made us forget our own danger in admiring their beautiful and picturesque appearance.

We at last prevailed upon them to quit the windings of the shore where we were under so much dread, and steer a straight course across some small bays, none of which appeared fit for anchorage from their being too much exposed.

PAKINI VILLAGE.

Early in the afternoon we landed at a small village called Pakini, near the south point of the island. We took up our abode in a house belonging to Keawe-a-heulu, and they told us that the village, which consisted of only a few fishermen's huts, belonged to Namahana, Keeaumoku's wife. The country between this and Manu-ka, the place we left in the morning, is one continued tract of loose, rough and peaked lava, the most dreary and barren tract that can possibly be conceived, so that it would be a tedious and fatiguing journey to come from thence by land, and such as

even the natives themselves seldom attempt. For when they wish to visit the south side of the island, they generally come thus far in canoes from the west side and leave them here till they return again, so that this forms a common port at which there were several arrivals to and fro in the course of the evening.

Our chief advised us to remain here all night, and as we knew so little of the country, we were obliged to be entirely under his control. The afternoon was spent in covering up our canoes upon the beach to preserve them from the sultry weather and in preparing everything for our land expedition which was to commence the next morning. From hence we had a full view of the snowy summit of the mountain, which showed a remarkable glaring lustre from the sun's reflection. Some of the party that were dispatched across the country from Honomalino, met us here with cocoa nuts.

LANDS FROM CANOES AND STARTS OVERLAND JOURNEY.

February 10th. After giving our several attendants strict charge of their respective burdens, we left our canoes at Pakini and set out early on the morning of the 10th to prosecute the remainder of our journey by land. We had not travelled far when we found we had to ascend an elevated steep rugged bank that took its rise at the south point of the island and running along the southern side of Pakini Bay continued its direction inland behind the village. On gaining its summit, which was not an easy task, an extensive tract of the most luxuriant pasture we had yet seen amongst these islands rushed at once upon our sight, extending itself from the south point to a considerable distance inland. It was cropped with fine soft grass reaching up to our knees, and naturally of a thick bottom that would afford excellent feeding for cattle, where herds of them might live at their ease, if it was not for scarcity of fresh

water, which we experienced in all the low grounds we had yet visited.

EARLY TRENCH WARFARE.

From the summit of this bank we pursued a path leading to the upper plantations in a direct line towards Mauna Loa, and as we advanced the natives pointed out to us on both sides of our path, places where battles and skirmishes were fought in the late civil wars between the adherents of the present king and the party of Keoua, the son of the late Kalaniopuu, who was king of the island in Captain Cook's time. Kamehameha's warriors were headed by Kaiana, who at that time made free use of firearms, which obliged Keoua's warriors to entrench themselves by digging small holes in the ground,¹²⁴ into which they squatted flat down at the flash of the musquets. Many of these little entrenchments were still very conspicuous and they were pointed out to us by the natives with seeming satisfaction, as it was to them a new mode of eluding the destructive powers of firearms on plain ground. Here then we behold the first beginnings of fortifications amongst these people which they probably never thought of till these arms were introduced amongst them. We also see that the same mode of fighting naturally begets the same mode of defence in every part of the world. It was in these wars that Kaiana by his knowledge of firearms gained so much ascendancy on the island and became so powerful a chief. We continued our ascent through a rich tract of land which appeared to have laid fallow or neglected ever since these wars, till we came to a grove of kukui trees,¹²⁵ and under their shade we stopped to rest and refresh ourselves in the heat of the day.

¹²⁴It may be here noted that the Hawaiians in the first battle where firearms were used against them, quickly adapted themselves to trench warfare, and betook themselves to the digging-in methods used more than a century afterwards during the great war (1914-1918) in Flanders and France.

¹²⁵*Aleurites Molucanna* or *A. Triloba*, Forst.

KAHUKU.

Close by us was a fine plantation belonging to Kamehameha, called Kahuku, where our purveyor was particularly ordered to demand supplies for our journey, which he did and only received one small hog. This, however, did not come to our knowledge till after we passed it, and when the chief told me of it, I made a show of noting it down in my little memorandum book in order to make it known to the king. This had the desired effect, for it instantly spread through the crowd, and from them to the steward of the plantation, whom we found extremely assiduous in supplying our wants on our return.

In the afternoon we resumed our journey and soon after reached the upper plantations, when instead of ascending directly up the mountain as we expected, they led us across these plantations to the north-eastward at a distance of five or six miles from the shore by a narrow winding path which in some places was very rugged and seldom admitted more than one person at a time, so that we followed one another in a string, and occupied a considerable space in length from the number of our party and the crowds that followed us from village to village through curiosity and flocked to see us from far and near. This path we found to be the public road leading to the east end of the island, and at small eminences here and there, we met cleared spots for resting on, where the wearied travellers generally sit down to chew sugar cane and admire the surrounding prospect.

KIOLOKU VILLAGE.

Towards evening we descended into a fine fertile valley and put up for the night at a village called Kioloku, on a rich plantation belonging to Keawe-a-heulu. We computed that we had this day travelled 18 or 20 miles though we did not seem to be much more than half that distance in a straight line from where we set out in the morning, the path was so circuitous and winding. We observed a great deal

of ground on both sides of our path lay waste, which appeared to have been cultivated many years ago. This we ascribed to the late commotions on this part of the island, as it is the common custom of these people to destroy the plantations of the vanquished.

When we stopped in the evening we were surrounded by such a concourse of people who pressed so close to us that we could scarcely stir. Luhea observing our situation took a stick in his hand and soon cleared a circle for us. He afterwards tabooed a large house for us and seemed to manage the natives with great authority. This was by far the most populous village we had yet met with since we left Kealakekua. Towards the dusk of the evening, there fell some showers of rain which gave a gay and refreshing look to the most enchanting scenes of rural industry with which we were surrounded. The economy with which these people laid out and managed their ground and the neatness with which they cultivated their little fields made the whole valley appear more like a rich garden than a plantation. A stream of water which fell from the mountain through the middle of it was ingeniously branched off on each side to flood and fertilize the most distant fields at pleasure.

February 11th. We set out early in the morning of the 11th and ascended a steep verdant hill on the eastern side of the valley; from the summit of which we had a charming prospect of the country for a long way before us, presenting extensive and rich plantations industriously cultivated. As we passed on through them, the natives pointed out one which they said the king had given to Kualelo soon after we left him on the island. This was further confirmed to us by the vassals on it readily owning Kualelo as their chief. We found the people everywhere busily employed in their little fields, many of which were here cropped with plantains and bananas that had a ragged appearance from having little or no shelter, yet they bore fruit tolerably well. We seldom observed these vegetables cultivated so

low down on the western side of the island, where they generally occupy the verge of the forest, a situation which for shelter seems more congenial to their tender feelings. We observed here that they suffer many of their fields here and there to lay fallow, and these in general were cropped with fine grass, which they cut down for the purpose of covering their new planted fields of taro or yams to preserve them from the powerful heat of the sun.

After examining these plantations we came to a barren woody tract, without even a hut or the least arable land for a considerable distance, and so arid that we could get no water to quench our thirst or refresh ourselves. This made us quite out of humour with our guides as the day was far advanced before we could get any breakfast, and by the time we got through this dreary tract, we were ready to drop with thirst, hunger and fatigue.

At last we came to a romantic situation where there were a few huts in the verge of the forest. Here under a small shade they spread a mat for us on which we threw ourselves down to rest, till some refreshments were got ready, and till the heat of the day was partly over. After taking our meal, the priests consecrated our shade by planting taboo sticks round it. This deprived us entirely of the society of the ladies, for though they sat down on our mat before breakfast and were very chatty and cheering, yet nothing would induce them to approach it after these rods were stuck up; such is the powerful influence of priest-craft among these people.

In the afternoon we continued our journey by the same path which still led along the upper plantations, preserving nearly the same distance from the seacoast, and was excessive rugged and woody, with here and there some intervening plantations arranged alternately with these rugged forests, which seemed to mark the latter courses of the lava down the side of the mountain. We stopped in the evening at a plantation belonging to Kamehameha called Punaluu.

PUNALUU.

February 12th. Next day we continued on our journey through the same kind of picturesque country, and soon after setting out from Punaluu we crossed a plantation belonging to Kalaikukalii, the chief whose hand had been so badly wounded at Kealakekua before we came away, and the following circumstance will show the goodness of his heart, and how thankful he was for our attention towards him on that occasion. He had, it seems, sent before us particular orders for his steward to wait upon us as we passed and make an offer of whatever his plantation produced. The steward¹²⁶ executed his master's mandate in the most friendly manner, and even pressed us with tears of gratitude in his eyes to accept of something, otherwise his master would think he had not done his duty. This induced us to take a few things from him, after which we assured him that if we should stand in need of a further supply we would send back to him for it, with which he appeared to be quite satisfied. Little acts of hospitality and kindness are acceptable in all places and on all occasions, but nowhere more particularly so than to wayworn travellers in remote regions and amongst uncivilized tribes where those little civilities may be considered the spontaneous offerings of the heart, and cannot fail to touch the feelings of those on whom they are conferred with a more than common sense of gratitude and admiration.

KAPAPALA.

Though we had much reason to be satisfied every step we went, with the kind attentions and unbounded hospitality of the natives, yet we could not help being now a little out of temper with them at the great distance they were taking us as it were round the foot of the mountain, till in the afternoon we reached a fine plantation called Kapapala, belonging to the king, from which they told us we were to as-

¹²⁶The Hawaiian name for a land steward or bailiff is *konohiki*.

cend the mountain. As the chief had here to provide his last supplies of provisions for our journey up, we were obliged to stop for the night to allow him some time for that purpose.

In the evening we sent back one of the natives to Kealakekua with a note to Capt. Vancouver to relieve any anxiety he might be under respecting us, and to acquaint him with the distance we had come and the probable time it would still take us to accomplish our object. We were now within a few miles of the volcano,¹²⁷ of which there seemed to be this day a considerable eruption, and as the wind blew from that direction, the smoke, dust and ashes arising from it proved very troublesome to our eyes in travelling with our faces towards it.

February 13th. Before we set out on the morning of the 13th, I observed the barometer at eight, when the mercury stood at 28 in. 20 pts., which made our height at this place 1800 feet above the level of the sea. The thermometer was at the same time 67 degs.

After breakfast, everything being got ready, and the party arranged, we continued our march through the plantation for two or three miles further, and then began our ascent up the south-east side of Mauna Loa in an easy slanting direction, passing through groves of trees and clear spots alternately by a narrow rugged path without meeting any more cultivated ground after we quitted the plantation of Kapapala, or any houses till towards sunset, when we came to two or three old huts where our guides told us we must encamp for the night. The chief no longer depended on his own knowledge of the path, but brought men with him from the last plantation to conduct the whole party up the mountain, which now lay between us and Kealakekua. We had the volcano to our right most part of this day and in the forenoon the smoke and ashes arising from it made

¹²⁷Kilauea Volcano.

the air very thick, which at times proved very tormenting to our eyes.

At sunset the thermometer was at 54 degs., and the barometer stood at 26 in. 50 pts., which made our height from the sea 3,510 feet.

February 14th. At sunrise next morning the thermometer was so low as 41 degs., which was lower by 2 degs. than we found it near the upper edge of the wood on Hualalai at the same time of the day, and yet we were not here advanced half way up the woody region of the mountain. Whether this diffusion of cold much lower down be owing to their being but little wood on this side of the mountain, or to its being a much greater body than Hualalai, I cannot take upon me to say, as I have not sufficient data to determine. But the air was at this time so chilly that the natives complained so much of the cold that we did not stir from the place of our encampment till after breakfast, when we again set forward up the mountain in a reversed oblique direction to what we came the day before, but in so winding and circuitous a manner and through such pathless and rugged tracts, avoiding the clumps of forest here and there, that, had we not good guides with us, we should have met with insurmountable difficulties.

We had sight now and then of the lower edge of the snow which did not appear to be far above us. We therefore began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of reaching it, at least should we not be able to accomplish the full extent of our object in getting to the summit. In the afternoon, we turned our faces more directly up the mountain when we found the ascent very steep and rugged, and consequently more fatiguing. Towards evening, we reached the upper verge of the forest nearly over Kapapala, where we encamped for the conveniency of having wood at hand to burn and erect our huts with. The natives having pitched upon a clear spot overgrown only with strong tall grass, they all set to work and in the course of two hours

erected a small village of huts sufficient to shelter themselves and us comfortably for the night. These huts, though finished with such hurry, were neatly constructed and well thatched all over with long grass. A large one was built in the middle of the village for us to eat and sit in, besides a small one for each of us to sleep in, where they spread our bedding on a thick layer of the long grass, so that we enjoyed our repose comfortably as we could wish.

While this business was going forward, one of the gentlemen laying down his knife carelessly had it stolen from him. This was made known to Luhea, who immediately caused diligent search to be made for it, and made such a stir about it amongst the whole party that it was soon found again. One of the strangers who had followed us up was suspected of having concealed it, for which the chief was in such a rage at him for this dishonesty that he certainly would have put an end to his existence on the spot by plunging his knife into his body had we not interfered at the moment he had his hand lifted over him to commit the horrid deed. He then promptly ordered him to quit the encampment and not to show his face again amongst the party.

This was the only instance of an attempt to pilfer from us the least article during our whole journey, though we were often surrounded by immense crowds, and even at this time what with men and women who followed us up the mountain through curiosity and our own attendants who carried bedding, water and provisions of every kind for themselves and us, we were very little short of a hundred people of the party.

In this day's march we saw many strange looking plants, different from any we had before observed, but very few of them being either in flower or seed, it was not possible to make out what they were. Near our encampment

I found a large beautiful species of *Vicia*¹²⁸ clambering up amongst the thickets in full bloom.

REACHES THE UPPER EDGE OF FOREST.

Being now at the upper edge of the forest I observed the barometer at six in the evening, when it stood at 23 in. 73 pts., which is equal to 6,500 ft. in altitude. This may be considered the height at which the wood ceases to grow upon the sides of this immense mountain. The thermometer observed at the same time was at 41 degs., and as we had heated ourselves a good deal in this day's march up the mountain, we felt the air after sunset remarkably chilly and cold, which induced us to keep large fires burning near our huts the whole night. Notwithstanding this precaution, many of the natives were so restless with the cold and continued coughing that they enjoyed very little repose, and not indeed without cause, for when we got up next morning, the thermometer was at 28 degs., and the grass which grew about our huts was so stiff and whitened with hoar frost, and the earth that was in anywise moist or swampy was encrusted with icy concretions about our encampment. The frost must therefore have been keen during the night time, and from this circumstance I think we may consider the upper edge of the wood as the lower line of congelation upon this mountain. Meeting with it so low down as we here did and that, too, on a tropical mountain so closely surrounded by the mild temperature of sea air, will no doubt stagger the belief of those who have been led to consider the lower line of congelation within the tropics, and having a much greater altitude even in continental regions which are always allowed to be colder than islands of moderate size.

¹²⁸*Vicia Menziesii*, Sprengel, or *V. grandiflora* Smith. This species of legume has not been found by modern collectors.

NATIVES UNWILLING TO PROCEED.

February 15th. The natives, who were all barefooted, could not stir out of their huts in the morning until after breakfast, when the cheering influence of the sun dispersed the frost, but they greatly dreaded its consequences further up the mountain where they said that the cold was so intense that it would certainly kill us and them, too, and they described its effects by contracting and shivering themselves and cautioning us very strongly against going higher up or exposing ourselves or them to such danger. Even the old chief Luhea was so strongly prepossessed of this opinion that he now entreated us in the most earnest manner to relinquish the idea of going higher, for that he and several others were already nearly overcome with the fatigue of the journey and that the cold of the mountain would kill them. We endeavoured to soothe their minds by promising them that we should not attempt to go higher up than the lower edge of the snow, which we did not conceive to be far from us. After accomplishing that, which we should undoubtedly be able to do in the heat of the day, we should return again to the encampment in the evening. They appeared so far satisfied with this declaration that we set out after breakfast, followed by the whole party, in a direct line up the mountain, but we soon found that many of them came on so slow and reluctantly that about ten in the forenoon we proposed to the chief that he and most of the party should return back and encamp on the edge of the forest while we should go on with the guides and a few stout volunteers of the natives to carry some little refreshments and some of our bedding to wrap round us and them in case the cold should be found too powerful to withstand. The chief, finding his former entreaties of no avail, readily agreed to this proposal and parted with us with tears in his eyes after he and our guides had fixed upon the place where they were to wait for our return.

Having made this arrangement, we continued our progress up the rugged steep, which now became naked, dreary and barren with only here and there little tufts of grass in the crevices of the rocks. By noon, finding that vegetation had entirely ceased, not a blade of grass, moss or even lichen was to be seen anywhere around us for some time. I observed the barometer to ascertain our height, when I found it was at 20 in. 55 pts., which is equal to 10,543 feet above the level of the sea, so that this may be considered as the upper line of vegetation or rather a little above it on this mountain. But whether this was occasioned by the want of soil, of which there was nothing but volcanic dregs, or the particular rarefaction and temperature of the air at this height being inimical to vegetation, I cannot take upon me to say, though the latter I think is most probable.

GAINS THE SNOW LINE.

While we were resting and refreshing ourselves after making these observations, one of the natives who struggled higher up the mountain came running back to us with some snow in his hand, and though we were much fatigued, for the ascent was very steep, yet this gave us great encouragement, and we continued to ascend till we passed several patches of snow, when in the evening, finding that we were not likely to gain the summit of the mountain with daylight, for every height seemed lengthening as we went on, we did not conceive it prudent to go far into the snow. We therefore stopped short to consult with one another on what was to be done, whether we should go back to the encampment for the night and come up next day better provided, or whether we should venture to remain where we were all night at the mercy of the weather on the bleak slope of this immense mountain, and on the small pittance of provisions we had with us? Everyone was so fatigued with this day's journey, for we made uncommon exertions in the expectation of gaining our object, that the

dread of descending and ascending again such a rugged steep made us at all hazards prefer the latter.

MR. HEDDINGTON FALLS ILL.

At this time Mr. Heddington, who went higher up amongst the snow, accompanied by one of the natives, in expectation of reaching the summit, returned to us so overpowered with fatigue, that he was taken very ill. In this state we dreaded the consequences of his remaining with us all the night, and after giving him some little refreshment, we sent him off before he cooled or stiffened with the cold, to the encampment, attended by two of the natives. We were happy afterwards to find that he reached it in due time and fortunately recovered.

As we had now taken up our abode at the lower edge of the snow, I observed the barometer at six in the evening, when it stood at 19 in. 80 pts., which in altitude is equal to 11,515 feet, and the thermometer at the same time was at 33 degrees.

We were not, as might naturally be expected, at this time without our apprehensions that our constitutions which were for some time inured to the scorching heats of a tropical climate below, would be greatly affected by this sudden transition to the upper snowy regions of the mountain. For since we began our ascent we may be said to have gone through all the variety of climates between the equator and the pole. We quitted the tropical plantations below and came through the vast forest which surrounds the middle region of the mountain, and which may be considered as its temperate zone, and now we are stationed for the night within the verge of the frigid zone of this immense peak, which in this way may be aptly compared to one of our hemispheres. Yet after all, we were so inconsiderate of our own safety as not to make any particular provision of warm clothing to prevent the baneful effects of this sudden change. It happened, however, very for-

fortunate that the weather proved mild and favorable all the while so that we did not suffer so much inconvenience by this quick transition from the tropical regions to this frigid zone as might be apprehended.

After the excessive perspiration we underwent in this fatiguing day's journey, clambering up a steep rugged ascent wholly exposed to the influence of the sun in the heat of the day, it was necessary to take every precaution in our power to prevent numbness and stiffness of our limbs by exercise and continually moving about to keep ourselves warm, for we had nothing here wherewith we could keep up a fire. All the provisions we had remaining was a small quantity of chocolate, a few ship's biscuits and near a quart of rum, together with a few cocoanuts. Of these articles we carefully preserved the last half for next day, as equal as we could amongst the party, which was now about a dozen in number. We managed to boil the chocolate in a tin pot over a small fire made of our walking sticks, and each had his share of it warm with a small quantity of rum in it before he went to bed. We had no other water than what we melted from the snow, which we thought greatly improved the chocolate.

For our bed we made choice of a flat even rock on which we could all huddle close together, and after marking out the exact space we should occupy of it, we raised a small parapet round it with the lava to break off the wind, which after sunset blew very keen and penetrating. All the bed clothes we hitherto required were a few folds of their Sandwich Island cloth over us with a mat under us, which was found sufficiently comfortable in the lower regions, but this night after spreading a mat on the bare lava rock, as it was all agreed we should sleep together to keep ourselves warm, we joined together everything we had, for a general covering, made pillows of hard lava, and in this way passed the night tolerably comfortable, though we could not sleep much, nor was it indeed to be expected at

this time so many thousand feet high, reclined on the hard rock for our bed with no other shelter than the grand canopy of heaven. Our minds were variously occupied, sometimes on meditating on the dreadful consequences of a snow-storm coming on whilst we were thus situated; at other times in contemplating the awful and extended scene around us, where the most profound stillness subsisted the whole night, not even interrupted by the least chirp of a bird or an insect. The moon rose out of the sea at an immense distance, and her orb appeared uncommonly large and brilliant, and the sky being perfectly clear overhead, the assemblage of stars appeared very numerous and shone with unusual brightness. These led the imagination to the utmost stretch and afforded objects of both wonder and admiration.

February 16th. Next morning at sunrise, the thermometer was at 26 degs. and the air was excessive keen and piercing. We made a scanty meal on the remainder of our provision before we set out, but for want of fuel, had the greatest difficulty in getting our chocolate boiled, though we burned mats and everything we could think of. Those of the natives who appeared less able to withstand the cold or further fatigue were sent down to the encampment, and at the same time we set forward with the rest of them up the mountain carrying with us the remainder of the liquor and a few cocoanuts as our only resource of refreshment in case of exigencies. As we went on we soon found the ascent becoming less steep, and everywhere chequered over with large patches of snow, which were so hard that we walked over them with ease, and we marched a pretty quick pace to keep ourselves warm. We found the summit of the mountain nearly flat for several miles, strewn over with large lumps of loose lava, and here and there deep snow.

ARRIVES AT MOKUAWEOWEO CRATER.

About eleven in the forenoon we arrived at the mouth of an immense crater at least three miles in circumference, and looking round us we conceived the western edge of it to be the highest part of the mountain. I was therefore desirous to make that the place of observation with the barometer, but being on the south side of the crater, to get to this eminence we had to cross over a large hollow full of hideous chinks and chasms in all directions, and strewn over with large masses of broken and peaked lava in irregular piles, exhibiting the most rugged and disruptive appearance that can possibly be conceived. Mr. Howell's shoes being already cut and torn in pieces with the lava, and his strength being much exhausted with fatigue, he declined attempting the dreadful place. We therefore left him to the natives on the south side of it to wait our return, while Mr. Baker, Mr. McKenzie, myself and a servant who carried the barometer, crossed over this rugged hollow after a hard and persevering struggle,

REACHES THE HIGHEST POINT OF MAUNA LOA.

and by noon (February 16th, 1794) got to the highest part of the mountain on the western brink of the great crater, where I observed the barometer and found the quicksilver stood at 18 in. 40 pts., and that on board the *Discovery* at Kealakekua Bay, observed at the same instant of time was found to be at 30 in. 16 pts., so that the difference is 11 in. 76 pts., which will make the height of this mountain 13,634 feet above the level of the sea.¹²⁹ But it is necessary to observe that the correction for temperature of the atmosphere has not been allowed for in this calculation, nor at any other station upon the mountain, which will make some difference in the result of the observations. The thermometer here

¹²⁹Maunaloa, per Hawaiian Government Survey, is 13,675 ft. high. Menzies' calculations came within 41 feet of this figure.

was at 42 degrees. Mauna Kea bore by compass north-by-east of us. The high land of Maui¹³⁰ northwest-by-north, and Hualalai,¹³¹ which appeared under us like a hillock, bore northwest-by-west. I regretted much not having a spirit level or some other instrument to ascertain whether this mountain or Mauna Kea is the highest,¹³² though from the peak of the latter being at this time more whitened over with snow, I am inclined to think it would have the pre-eminence in this respect to Mauna Loa. The sides of the crater (which was as near as we could guess about a mile in diameter) were quite perpendicular, and as we conjectured about 400 yards in height all round, excepting opposite to the hollow already mentioned, where its height was much less. The bottom of it was quite flat, being filled up with lava with a wavy roughness on its surface, apparently in the state in which it cooled in this immense furnace. At the edge of it we observed some smoke in two or three places which we conceived to issue from hot springs, as in our way back to the party we visited the entrance of a cavern out of which there issued very hot steam. In undergoing our struggle again across the rugged hollow we all felt more or less exhausted with fatigue, but Mr. Baker in particular became so weak and faint that we were obliged to stop for him two or three times till he recovered his strength, and when we came back to the place where we left Mr. Howell and the natives, we found only two of the latter in waiting for us, faithful (poor fellows) to their trust, though shivering with the cold at the risque of their lives, and patiently enduring the pangs of both hunger and thirst. But when they informed us that Mr. Howell and the rest of the natives had gone off for the encampment and carried with them the small quantity of liquor which we had carefully preserved for exigencies, it sounded like

¹³⁰Haleakala, elev. 10,032 ft.

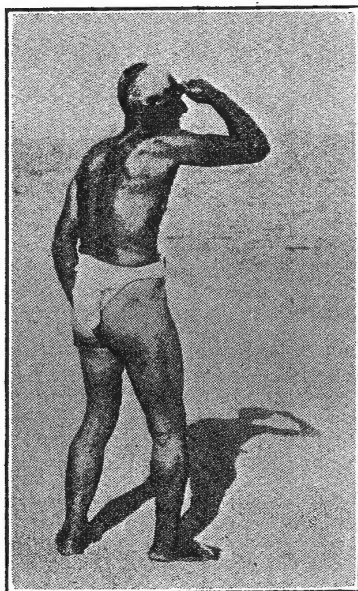
¹³¹Hualalai, elev. 8,275 ft.

¹³²Maunakea, 13,825 ft.

the knell of death in our ears, and we could not help blaming Mr. Howell for thus deserting us. The absence of our cordial on which we had built our only hope of cheering comfort to enable us to go through the long journey still before us afflicted us most. Thus overwhelmed, spiritless and faint, we threw ourselves down on the bare rocks and for some moments revolved our melancholy situation in silence. The distance we were from the party, which was considerably more than half the height of the mountain, the ruggedness and steepness of the declivity and our weakness and inability to undergo fatigue without some miraculous support, all obtruded themselves on our minds in the most ghastly shapes. On further enquiry we found that our trusty friends had still a reserve of three cocoanuts. The liquor of these we gradually sipped and it greatly revived us. After eating some of the kernels, which were carefully divided amongst us, we set out on our return to the encampment, where we were so fortunate as to arrive safe at ten at night, after the most persevering and hazardous struggle that can possibly be conceived.

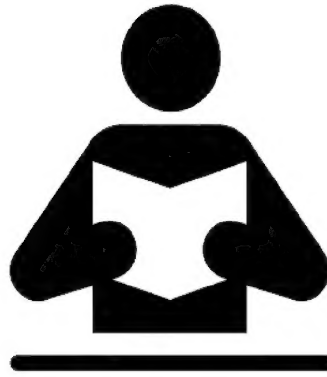
¹³²From the date of Archibald Menzies' ascent on February 16th, 1794, Mauna Loa was not scaled until forty years had elapsed, when Menzies' fellow-countryman, David Douglas, reached the top on January 29th, 1834. Douglas mentions that even after this long interval of forty years, Menzies was still held in remembrance by the natives, who described him as "the red-faced man, who cut off the limbs of men and gathered grass" (see David Douglas, *Botanist*, at Hawaii, p. 62).

Sir David Menzies, 9th Baronet and head of the clan Menzies, informs the editor that Archibald Menzies' father was James Menzies, tenant or tacksman of the fine farm of Styx or Stuyx (pronounced in Gaelic, Stenyx), situated in the parish of Weem, Perthshire. James Menzies, by his wife, Ann, had seven children, viz., William, John, James, Archibald the botanist, Susanna, Marjory and Kitty. Readers interested in the Clan Menzies ought to consult the fine clan history by Sir David Menzies, Bart, entitled "The Red and White Book of Menzies."



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